

INDIA & CEYLON

A FEDERATION

A New Effort in History

By

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LONDON

P. S. KING & SON, Ltd.

ORCHARD HOUSE, WESTMINSTER

1932

To
My Father and Mother

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PREFACE

THIS book is the outcome not of an emotional bias or partisanship, but is the result of an impartial study of the history and politics of the two countries here discussed. Any theory that might have been constructed in the course of this work has not been influenced by any personal motives. At the present moment there is an unrest of opinion over the separation of Burma from India, but unless a definite effort is made now to unite Ceylon, whose kinship with India is more intimate, the present temporary separation might continue to remain as a permanent gulf.

In this book I have also given a brief but compact history of the growth of Nationalism in India and Ceylon and a development of their economic history.

I take this opportunity to acknowledge the assistance I have received from Mr. Sarella and Mr. Pandarathil in writing this work and my special thanks are due to Mr. Vijaya-Tunga, who helped me with information and advice.

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INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of history must be not only to help one to understand what his country or another's had been a hundred or a thousand years ago but also to provide a measure of experience by which he can widen his imagination and plan for the welfare of his country's future. It is often expressed that history repeats itself, but the repetition occurs sometimes in regard of individuals and at other times in regard of the masses. Reasoning and discussion between States and peoples can pave the way for the revival of old friendships, the cementing of new ententes and the enlargements of territories both geographical and cultural. In the present day we witness the example of Germany and Austria striving to join together, not merely because Austria lost its territory during the late War, but because culturally and economically these countries have formed one geographical fact. They are not alone in their desire. The example of the unification of Italy and Sicily, Australia and Tasmania, Portugal and Madeira, are outstanding indications of the advantages devolving upon countries so unified.

Are these examples and the ambition of Germany and Austria for a closer union not sufficient inducement for two Eastern nations to unite for mutual benefit, and also for the good that would accrue to other Eastern countries by this example of an Empire consolidated without resort to arms? As the title indicates, the two countries in question are India, with a population of three hundred and fifty-one millions and a territory of two million square miles, and Ceylon, with a population of five millions and a territory of twenty-five thousand square miles.

The unification of these two countries without resort to arms or coercion will be an unprecedented effort in history, an effort obvious to the casual reader; but the deeper student can discern the revival of an old friendship that came to an abrupt end in the year 1796.

THE CLOSE CONTACT BETWEEN INDIA AND CEYLON TILL CEYLON'S SEPARATION

THE underlying unity of India transcends the superficial differences, racial, territorial, and linguistic. In her legend and folk-lore and the great mythological works Ceylon is considered as one with India, and in them the scene is laid from the Himalayas to as far south as Lanka. To the most casual observer the association of Ceylon with India, even in the dim ages of history, is quite evident. A glance at the map will convince us that the existence of the many islets like stepping stones between the mainland and Ceylon and the similarity of the physical features of the southern part of India and the northern part of Ceylon suggest that centuries ago the two countries were one. Due to erosion of the soil, a part of the land was submerged and the island of Lanka was formed, but still suspended like a pendant from India, it retains the affinity that such a pendant has with the chain.

We shall attempt to follow the continuous intercourse that Ceylon carried on for hundreds of years with the mother-country, from the Puranic Ages up to the present day.

Rajavaliya, a well-known historical work in Sinhalese, refers to Ceylon in those semi-historical times in these words:

"In the *Dvapara Yuga* (era) of the world, on account of the wickedness of Ravana his twenty-five palaces and hundred-thousand streets situated between Mannar and Tuttukudiya [present-day Tuticorin] were submerged under the sea." Elsewhere in the same history it is mentioned that on account of the wickedness of Kelaniyatissa one hundred thousand seaboard towns and nine hundred and seventy fishers' villages, comprising altogether eleven-twelfths of Lanka, were submerged under the sea. Mannar escaped destruction, and among the seaboard towns Katupiti-Madmpe was saved. These stories are but the mythological representation of the geological upheaval that must have been responsible for the separation of Ceylon from India. But even after this separation the Dravidians, who at that time were far advanced in civilisation and were carrying on trade with Egypt and Babylon, made the western coast of Ceylon a naval base and storage harbour for their export trade. During this friendly penetration of the

Tamils a race known as the Irradas were the original inhabitants of the Islands.

The earliest references to Lanka occur in the Ramayana. Originally the name of the capital city, it was afterwards extended to the whole island. A historical parallel can be drawn by the fact that later on the Europeans applied the name Tamraparni (Taprobane), the name of a river, to signify the whole island. The origin of the city of Lanka is narrated in the Ramayana thus: "There was a trial of strength between the God of the Winds and the King of the Serpents, in the course of which, by the mighty force of the Winds, three of the thousand peaks of Meru, a mountain situated in India [a golden mountain, famed in mythology] was blown into the sea. These three peaks were known as the Trikuta. On the midmost peak, Visvakarma, the architect of the gods built the city of Lanka." Though the Ramayana is considered to be a myth there are many reasons to believe that certain parts of the story are symbolic of historical fact. The Ramayana may be taken as the epic representing the story of a great wave of Aryan exploration and adventure into the unknown south. To authenticate the fact we can have recourse to archæology, which draws notice to the close resemblance of the temples of Rameswaram and the ruins of Northern Ceylon. During the war

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between Rama and Ravana, Lanka must have possessed high skill in architecture and the arts of war. The distance between the mainland and the island must have been negligible, since Ramayana speaks of the monkey army building a bridge of rock and sand across the gulf. It can be safely inferred that the island must have borrowed and exchanged a great deal from South India. According to the Ramayana, Rama, after defeating Ravana, appointed Vibishana as his Viceroy of Lanka. This tributary relationship did not end with the period of the Ramayana. In the Mahabharata, Pandava sends his ambassadors to the king of Lanka, who duly presents him with numerous jewels, sandalwood and other valuable ornaments, for the celebration of the horse-sacrifice.

The earliest Tamil name for Ceylon is Elam, which literally means "gold." This name appears to have originated from the belief that Ceylon was formed of part of the golden Meru mountain. It is also quite possible that it is a derivative from the Sanskrit word, Sihalam, later abbreviated into Illam. Taking these epics as a passing reference to the existence of close contact of India with Ceylon, we shall now pass to more authentic historical references. The Rajatarangini speaks of an invasion by Mihirakula, the king of Kashmir (735-665 B.C.). The event is

described as follows: "Mihirakula was a cruel and suspicious man. He once noticed that the breast of his queen was marked with the footprints of a golden hue, and questioned the zenana-keeper for an explanation. He pointed out that the queen wore a bodice made of cloth from Sinhala marked with the golden footprints of their king. Angered at this, he invaded Sinhala, defeated and killed the king and set up his own nominee on the throne.

It is supposed that the island was named Singhaladvipa after an invasion by a king named Sinhala, Dvipa meaning an island. The more reliable and popular version, however, is that Vijaya and his people were known as Sinhala, or the "Lion Race," because of a legendary ancestry from a lion—a story that recalls the origin of Romulus and Remus.

The arrival of Vijaya opens for us a more authentic period, in which, through a tangle of legend and story, we can make our way to historical facts represented in the Mahavansa or "the history of the Great Dynasty." The Mahavansa is a remarkable piece of literature, and one of the earliest contributions to recorded history for which Ceylon can claim the credit. The authorship of this work, whether it was written by an individual or by a group, is distinctly monastic. Therefore it is but natural

that these priest chroniclers give overwhelming importance to religious matters and interests at the expense of historical accuracy. A case in point is the pious identification of the date of Vijaya's landing in Ceylon with the date of the death of the Buddha. The creative imagination of the author goes further when the Buddha is made on his death-bed to invoke the help of gods to protect and bless Vijaya and his men in their new abode, for according to this chronicle the Buddha foresaw that Ceylon was to be the ultimate home of Buddhism.

Vijaya landed in Ceylon on the fifteenth day of Vaisakh (April-May) in the year 2558 Kali Yuga (543 B.C.) He is supposed to have come from Bengal and to have been the illegitimate son of the king. There is another view that his origin was in Gujerat, since the people of Gujerat were at that time the foremost navigators. When Vijaya and his followers landed in Ceylon the island was inhabited by a race whom the ancient literature referred to as Rakshahs and Nagas—presumably a race of non-Aryan people. Vijaya and his followers, as in the case of most migrating peoples, were spouseless, and they took to themselves native wives, Vijaya naturally taking for himself the queen, Kuveni. The union is said to have produced a son and a daughter. But as Vijaya became increasingly ambitious he sent

for a wife from South India, probably a Tamil princess. Legend says that he banished his first wife and children to the forest, where they became the traditional ancestors of the race known to-day as Veddahs. Veddah literally means to shoot with bow and arrow. This race up to the present day inhabit the hinterland of Ceylon and retain the features of a primitive tribe. Seligman has written a scholarly work on this ancient race.

The divorce of his native queen, Kuveni, and the marriage to the Tamil princess brought Vijaya into closer contact with South India. This in turn led to the introduction of a more organised form of government into Ceylon, which, according to available evidence, was continued by his successors, who themselves invariably married into the families of the ruling princes of South India. With these South Indian princesses there came into Ceylon priests, astrologers, and other heralds of a new civilisation, bringing the culture of their country into the land of their adoption. Trade began to flourish, and with the contact with South India Ceylon prospered and received a new impetus. So far Southern India has been playing a large part in transforming the cultural life of Ceylon in those early times.

The influence of Northern India was directly brought to bear on Ceylon with the marriage of

Panduvasadeva, a successor of Vijaya, with Baddacacchayana, a princess from Nepal, and a granddaughter of an uncle of the Buddha, according to the Mahavansa. She had arrived with six of her brothers, and the king, with the usual weakness of a brother-in-law, appointed them as governors of provinces. That these have left an unmistakable impression in the history of Ceylon is testified by the fact that one of them, Ruhuna, named a province after himself, and this province is known to this day as Ruhunurata, the land of Ruhuna. Another, Panduvasa, is said to have built the great reservoir still extant, called Abaya-veva, and two others founded two cities, named Vijitapura and Gangaseripena.

In India administrative organisation had attained a high level of development, which must have been adopted in Ceylon. The island was divided into provinces, districts, and villages, and these again into fields and gardens, facilitating a system of tenancy which there is reason to believe must have been a compound of the administrative skill of South and North India.

A succession of five kings followed Vijaya's death, and two hundred and thirty-six years had elapsed before we come to the most remarkable personality in the history of Ceylon. Devanampiya-Tissa ascended the throne of Ceylon when the power and renown of Asoka, his illustrious

contemporary, was at its height. The great Maurya emperor had already been converted to Buddhism and had utilized the resources and prestige of his imperial position in the peaceful spreading of the faith. Asoka's empire extended as far south as the Deccan, and Tissa, having heard of his greatness, despatched embassies to Asoka's court. This gesture of friendship from the distant monarch was warmly responded to by the tactful Asoka, who despatched a mission to Ceylon with none other than his own son, Mahinda, and his daughter Sangamitta at its head. Tissa accepted Buddhism and the majority of his subjects followed the royal example. A new era of progress dawned upon Ceylon and its intellectual life gained an ascendancy solely due to the close contact that Ceylon was able to maintain with India through this new religion. Mahinda, the missionary prince, bringing with him as he did, a new religion, also imparted to the new country the tradition of rulership and organisation for which the Maurya empire is remarkable in Indian history and which compelled the admiration of Megasthenes, the Grecian ambassador, at the court of Asoka's grandfather. For the purpose of building monasteries Tissa imported highly-skilled architects and artisans who co-operated with the Sinhalese craftsmen. Cities like Mahagama and Kelaniya were planted and built

and stupas, a distinctly Asokan feature of architecture, were erected in a number of places in Lanka. A monastery of "thirty-two-chambers" was constructed for the use of the priests at Mihintale, the ruins of which stand to this day and in which the name of Mahinda still lives. With these building activities skilled Indian labour flowed into Ceylon and trade relations must have improved more than ever before. Mahinda outlived his patron and died about 267 B.C. In spite of the fact that he was an alien, gratitude towards this admirable prince-priest was indicated by the unprecedented pomp of his cremation which had been held at Anuradhapura, the spot where the branch of the Sacred Bo-Tree presented by Asoka was planted.

With the peaceful influence of Buddhism we see an influx of Tamil people into military offices of whom Sena and Guttika were prominent examples. These two held commissions as cavalry commanders under King Uttiya. During the reign of Sena Tissa, his successor, these commanders usurped the throne, but instead of fighting with each other with the habitual jealousy of partners in conquest after the attainment of success, Sena and Guttiaka tactfully established themselves as joint rulers, and held sway for twenty-two years. With the Tamil ascendancy the State religion naturally

tended to become Dravidian. Though many people remained loyal to their Buddhist faith there is no evidence on the part of the rulers, of either an attempt at forcible conversion or a policy of persecution.* But at this period many South Indian customs and beliefs made their way into the life of the Sinhalese and even encroached upon the external aspects of Buddhism.. It cannot be denied that Ceylon as a nation had benefited economically and culturally by contact with a people who were successful traders. The Tamils brought a higher standard of living, which Ceylon must have been persuaded to accept in order that she might be on a par with the invaders. When two peoples of diverse cultures come into contact with one another the advantages offered by the more advanced one, are gratefully absorbed by the other, and the same thing happened in Ceylon. The temples of Ceylon at this period in which the elaborate and highly imaginative South Indian *motifs* were introduced stand witness to this fact. The harmony was so close that even Buddhist temples came to be adorned with images of South Indian deities. Here we notice how humanity makes a compromise between conscience and custom. In Buddhism one learns that there is no escape from the law of Karma and that all actions would inevitably

issue into their results, and that Buddha himself had attained absolute Nirvana, not by worship, but by self-realisation from which neither prayer nor incantation can recall him. But in spite of this clear teaching, the devout Buddhist, influenced by Hindu practice in India, began to perform his religious rites before an image of the Buddha. He however asks for favours and makes pledges before the images of the Hindu deities whom Art had placed in a temple of a religion that prohibits such deity-worship.

Although the usurpers, Sena and Guttika, were in their turn murdered by a prince of the Sinhalese royal house, an invasion headed by Elara, a Tamil nobleman from South India, again restored the South Indian ascendancy. Though Elara was a South Indian invader he ruled for forty-four years with such justice and generosity as to gain him the admiration, loyalty, and the love of his subjects. Ruhunurata still remained a last stronghold of Sinhalese power, and Dutugemunu, a ruler of this dynasty, ultimately displaced the power of Elara. With Dutugemunu the Sinhalese dynasty and the Buddhist régime regained a new lease of life. Dutugemunu and his immediate successors kept the Tamils away for a brief interval, but their power was again set up for another two decades. The long period of Sinhalese ascen-

dancy and aloofness that followed was interrupted by the marriage of Mahanama to a Tamil princess. It was during the reign of this king that Buddhagosa arrived in Ceylon and wrote the well-known commentary on the sacred scriptures of Buddhism. This event speaks highly of the royal patronage that Mahanama must have extended to the advance of religion and literature. But this peaceful progress was again interrupted by another Tamil invasion led by six Tamil leaders of the Soli country. After getting rid of Mitisen, an unpopular usurper who had been nicknamed Karal Sara Raja (crop-lifter-king), they held the throne for twenty-seven years. This dynasty was overthrown by Dathusena, who had intended to remain a monk, but relinquished his holy order for the purpose of accepting the leadership of the Sinhalese against the Tamil chiefs. Though he fought for the Sinhalese cause with patriotic fervour he is represented in the Mahavansa as Maurya by descent, indicating undoubtedly his Indian origin. Thus the change was merely one of a Dravidian Hindu régime to a Buddhist one, in the hands of one who was not entirely unconnected with the mainland.

A century and a half later a great Chola king who had crushed the neighbouring power of the Pandyas turned his attention to Ceylon. He

invaded it and conquered it and organised it into a province of his empire. Ceylon endured the Chola rule for eighty-six years, when the scale of power shifted in favour of the Sinhalese dynasty again. After the memorable reign of Queen Kalyanavati, followed by her six brothers, Magha, a prince from Kalinga, at the head of a powerful army, invaded Ceylon and became king under the title Kalinga Vijaya Bahu. After he had reigned for a short period the Sinhalese wrested the power again and held it until another invasion from Malaya. But in spite of the attempts of Chandrabhanu, the Malayan prince, the Tamils and Sinhalese offered a united front to ward off this attack from this most unexpected quarter.

Before we come to modern times the most prominent figure of (those) pre-medieval days is Alganikkonar, a nobleman from South India allied by marriage to the Sinhalese king. A strong man of affairs, his unflinching loyalty to the crown gained him the governorship of a province. Acting on behalf of the king, he held an efficient enquiry into the affairs of the Church and purged it of all its abuses, thereby earning the viceroyalty of the Low Country. Meanwhile the kingdom of Jaffna had grown in power and was striving to regain its supremacy over the rest of Ceylon. Alaganikkonnar, seeing that war was inevitable, at once began the fortifi-

cation of his province with his natural foresight and precipitated the war by summarily hanging some of the Jaffna king's officers to give the king a "casus belli." The blood of the executed officers cried for vengeance, and the king of Jaffna, as expected, declared war, but Alaganikonnar emerged victorious from battle and became the foremost man in Ceylon. During the reign of Virabahu the Second, his elder brother seemed to have sought help from South India, but he was unsuccessful in his overtures. This refusal of aid by the South Indians was perhaps due to the realisation that one of their own princes had not only reformed the Church, but had also consolidated the State to a remarkable extent.

It now remains for us to examine and enumerate the influence of India that these successive events had left on Ceylon—an influence which persists to this day. The continual relations of India with Ceylon are evident from the invasion of Rama, the commercial navigations from South India, the colonisation by Vijaya and his band, and the mission of Mahinda and Sanghamitta, and, coming to later historical times, the frequent invasions of Ceylon by the Tamils.

Ceylon received its language, its knowledge of various arts and of architecture and painting, its sciences, such as the science of medicine, its

methods of irrigation-works and agriculture, all of them from India. The aboriginal people had a dialect which, after Vijaya's arrival, blended itself with the Aryan language of Vijaya and his people, and this language^c was further enriched by the contact with Pali, the language of Mahinda and his mission. According to the chroniclers, Mahinda converted Tissa to Buddhism at his first interview, and this could have been possible only by the existence of a common language for the exchange of ideas between them. The aboriginal dialect was merged into the Aryan language, and out of this mixture a distinct language came into vogue, and this is to-day distinguished in Ceylon as Elu. All the folklore and poetry is in that dialect. Pali has remained the language of the scriptures and Sanskrit has been confined to the sciences, like that of medicine.

With such intensive intercourse in those not very distant times South India can claim to have made a distinctive contribution to Ceylon. To substantiate this evidence let us take a simple example in the language of the two countries. A most prominent point of resemblance is found in the general system of words indicating family relationship expressed in each language. In European languages we do not find that separate words are used to denote aunts or uncles accord-

ing as they are related to a person on his paternal or maternal side. In Tamil less respect is accorded to paternal aunts and maternal uncles, and they are not honoured with such titles as "Mother" and "Father" the same as *punchi appa* and *punchi amma* as applied to paternal uncles and maternal aunts in Sinhalese. The children of the former are called cousin, while the children of the latter are regarded as having a quasi-fraternal relationship and are referred to as brothers, by the same term as is applied to brother and sister, a practice common to both South India and Ceylon. We see a similarity in terms denoting father and mother in the two languages. In Tamil the words for father are *pita*, *takappan*, and *appan*. The Sinhalese equivalents being *piya*, *tattha*, and *appa*. Mother is called in Tamil *tai*, *amma*, and *mata*, and in Sinhalese *mav* or *amma* or *mata*. Mother's brother in Sinhalese is *mama* and in Tamil *maman*. We can also see that some of these words have a common origin in Sanskrit. These niceties of relationship are common to the Sinhalese and the Tamils and other old races. Two other customs common to both communities is the custom of "Hetarism" or communal marriage. After the Tamil contact the practice of polyandry seems to have been grafted on to the customs of Ceylon, although this was in direct contradiction to the

rules of Buddhism. But it is illuminating to note that the system was prevalent in Kandy and central provinces of Ceylon, which was the seat of Tamil power. On the other hand, the Tamil contact bestowed innumerable advantages to Ceylon in the progress of arts and crafts. Ceylon has been essentially an agricultural country, and the agrarian caste was the foremost in the land, the caste from which even kings had sprung. The ploughing season witnessed the presence of the king in opening the first furrow, showing the dignity of agriculture in the country. But industrial activities attained equal importance. With the coming of the Tamils, weaving and brass-work and such other crafts of decidedly South Indian introduction took a hold in the country and began to flourish. Besides the particular contributions of South India we shall now see the general influence of India as a whole upon Ceylon.

The most powerful influence on Ceylon followed in the steps of Buddhism. Besides the advantages of an enlightened religion that Ceylon gained it led to a closer sharing between the two lands of the arts of poetry, drama, painting, and architecture. In the field of literature it is interesting to note how much the name of Kalidasa, the Indian poet and dramatist, is honoured in Ceylon. There is a belief in Ceylon that the famous poet

himself visited the island and sojourned there. Whatever the truth of this visit of the poet may be, a remarkable piece of evidence came to light in Ceylon by the discovery of a manuscript containing a stanza describing the Navaratna. These leading lights of the day were Dhanvantari, Amarsinha, Kalidasa, Varahamihira, and Var-ruchi, and Ksapanaka, Sanku, Villabhata, Ghatakapara.

Dhanvantari was a famous physician and the author of the Sanskrit *Materia Medica*. His disciple, Susruta, is equally famous, and the two names stand for the highest authority in medicine in India and Ceylon. Amarasinha is supposed to have been a Buddhist and is the author of a well-known dictionary, the *Amarakosha*, another authority consulted from ancient times by both the Sinhalese and Indian scholars. Kalidasa must have had some contact with Ceylon, and perhaps inspired by him and as a tribute to him, a Sinhalese poet-king also adopted the name. Varahamihira was a great Hindu astronomer, who was well known in Ceylon. This shows that there was the most intimate contact between the mainland and its offshoot in those times.

The date of these illustrious personages is a matter of controversy and there are various schools of belief placing them in periods ranging from the first century to the eleventh century.

Both Dhanvantari and Varahamihira are mentioned in translations from the Hindu into Persian in the sixth century. Amarasinha, or Amara-deva, is mentioned by the well-known Chinese travellers Fa Hien and Huiien Tsang. The first travelled in India and Ceylon in the fourth century, and the other in the seventh century A.D. It is safe to assign for these "nine gems" (Nava: nine; ratna: gems) the period about the fifth century A.D. What principally concerns us is the fact that Ceylon and India were regarded as one cultural unit at the time, and a traveller of those days did not consider his tour of India complete unless he had duly visited Ceylon. Thus Huiien Tsang (A.D. 629) says: "On the south-east corner of the country is Mount Lanka. Its high crags and deep valleys are occupied by spirits that come and go. It was here that the Tathagata (Buddha) preached the Langkiakang (Lanka Sutra or the Sermon on Lanka)."

Apart from controversial manuscripts, let us now turn to incontrovertible evidence of the influence of India on Ceylon in rock and stone. We have already noted that the stupa *motif* of temple architecture in Buddhist times was a direct importation of an Indian device. In addition to this the general architecture, as in the construction of columns and pillars, show wonderful resemblance. This fact can be authenti-

cated by a comparative study of the architectural remains at the ancient Sinhalese cities of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa. In the same way there is illuminating resemblance in the sculpture of the cave temples of Ajanta in Hyderabad and Karla, near Bombay, with the rock fortress of Sigiriya in Ceylon, with a gruesome history in spite of the beautiful work that adorns its steep and rocky sides. Kasyapa, having murdered his father the king, ascended the blood-stained throne and built for himself a residence—the fortress of Sigiriya—on the strategic point on the stately rock that rises to a height of five hundred feet. It looks strange that this patricide should have depicted in sculpture and painting in Sigiriya, scenes from the life of the Buddha, who preached the duty to parents as one of the foremost rules of life.

In course of time the cultural contact that was established by invasions was continued as a voluntary contact, political and economical. To the South Indian chieftains Ceylon was always a field of territorial expansion; and although they were attacked frequently by the Sinhalese, who were numerically stronger, they were able to entrench their power in the northern part of Ceylon, which remains to this day the seat of Dravidian Hindu culture.

The arrival of the European traders in the

East opens a new era, in which both India and Ceylon were forced to meet the Western influences. From the Middle Ages Europe was just emerging out of the continual feudal turmoils and was directing her enterprise towards discovering new lands and planting colonies.

Vasco da Gama cast anchor in Calicut, and thus triumphantly gave the credit of opening up a new sea route to the East to Portugal. Ceylon had to be discovered by the Portuguese in 1501, in one of their chance voyages in the Arabian sea. Before the arrival of the Portuguese the Arabs, who were fearless sailors and traders of old, had been visiting the coast of South India and had been acting as mediators of trade between East and West. They considered Ceylon as an extension avenue of South India in the coastal trade which they had carried on. They had built many trading stations in Ceylon, and even to this day they have a large share in the commercial transactions of the country.

Some of them settled down and brought their co-religionists from Calicut, where they had already had settlements. These Arabs, who became the inhabitants of Malabar, although they were Indian Moors, intermingled freely with Moorish traders of Ceylon. Thus a new race of Indian Moors was scattered between the Malabar

coast and Ceylon, forging the link between the two countries stronger still.

It was from Indian Arab merchants that the Portuguese received the information about the island of the spices. We read in the journal of the first voyage of Vasco da Gama: "From the country of Calicut which is called India Alta goes the spicery that is consumed in the West and also precious stones and cinnamon from an island."

The Arabs were known to the Spaniards and the Portuguese as Moors, and it was under that name that they referred to the Arabs they found in Ceylon. The Paisis Navamenti Retravali records as follows: "There are also in the Indian Sea islands, the most important being Saylam . . . distance from the mainland is about two hundred miles." It may be presumed that the Moorish traders who wanted to retain the monopoly of Sinhalese trade, but were not strong enough to meet the competition of the Portuguese, exaggerated the distance of Ceylon from the mainland, in the vain hope of deluding their Western rivals. The Sinhalese king was also not very desirous of dealings with the European foreigners, and seems to have shown a marked preference for the Arabs. After that passing visit to Ceylon Vasco da Gama returned to Portugal. And it took another six years before the Portuguese

actually brought Ceylon within their sphere of trade which they had already established in Goa and other points on the Indian coast. The king of Portugal sent an expedition on 25th March 1505 to the Indies, under Don Francisco de Almeida. On reaching Goa he despatched a force to Ceylon under the command of Don Francisco's son, Don Laurenceo, who landed in Ceylon in December 1505, or early in January 1506. The king of Ceylon hastened to show his friendship as usual by giving them costly presents and large quantities of spices. After this expedition the desire for capturing the trade grew stronger and the second expedition that was sent to Ceylon met with vigorous opposition from the Moors. The Moors, however, were defeated signally, and the supremacy in trade passed on to the Portuguese.

Observing the similarity and the proximity of the island, it was linked up with their Indian possessions by the Portuguese. In spite of this openly piratical or at best unscrupulously commercial interests, the Portuguese did not for a moment give up their religious zeal, and with their characteristic fervour added missionary activities to their commercial enterprise.

Meanwhile Ceylon was divided in her internal affairs. The north was held by the Tamils, who maintained close relations with the main country,

not only in trade, but in other aspects of social intercourse, including marriage. The Sinhalese, on the other hand, allowed the breach with India to widen. Although Parakrama Bahu, the Sinhalese, changed his capital from Colombo to Kandy, his successor had to acknowledge his complete dependence on the Portuguese. The next king went a step further, due, perhaps, to Goan influence, and became a Roman Catholic and was baptised as Don Juan. During this period the association of Ceylon and Goa was very intimate, since the Portuguese regarded a close contact essential for administrative purposes. Thus the Captain General of Ceylon was under the direction of the Viceroy of Goa. The religious dignitaries of Ceylon were also subordinate to the patriarch of Goa. A policy of vigorous conversion was carried on under Goan influence, and it was also in favour of their commercial interest, since Goa carried on an inter-port trade with Ceylon.

Gradually the relationship between the Portuguese and the Sinhalese grew strained, until it became openly hostile, in spite of diplomatic treaties. The time was ripe for the Dutch, who had already established trading settlements in the East, to gain a footing in Ceylon. When, therefore, the Dutch, who held a monopoly of the trade of the Malaya countries with their head-

actually brought Ceylon within their sphere of trade which they had already established in Goa and other points on the Indian coast. The king of Portugal sent an expedition on 25th March 1505 to the Indies, under Don Francisco de Almeida. On reaching Goa he despatched a force to Ceylon under the command of Don Francisco's son, Don Laurenceo, who landed in Ceylon in December 1505, or early in January 1506. The king of Ceylon hastened to show his friendship as usual by giving them costly presents and large quantities of spices. After this expedition the desire for capturing the trade grew stronger and the second expedition that was sent to Ceylon met with vigorous opposition from the Moors. The Moors, however, were defeated signally, and the supremacy in trade passed on to the Portuguese.

Observing the similarity and the proximity of the island, it was linked up with their Indian possessions by the Portuguese. In spite of this openly piratical or at best unscrupulously commercial interests, the Portuguese did not for a moment give up their religious zeal, and with their characteristic fervour added missionary activities to their commercial enterprise.

Meanwhile Ceylon was divided in her internal affairs. The north was held by the Tamils, who maintained close relations with the main country,

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quarters at Batavia, landed in Trincomalee in May 1602 their commander, Spillberg, was readily granted an interview by the Kandyan king and an alliance was sealed between them then and there. But it was long before the Portuguese could be finally dislodged from Ceylon. Unlike the Portuguese, the Dutch had as their object only trade and dominion, and their activities were not exercised over the field of spiritual conversion. This was a real advantage to the Dutch in their purpose of finally ousting the Portuguese in 1686. But what the Portuguese had done in the matter of religious conversion persists to this day, in addition to the contact with India that they had strengthened. But for Ceylon the change from one foreigner to another did not bring any appreciable advantage, and in the end the Dutch proved to be more dominating than the Portuguese.

By the close of the eighteenth century the English had broken the power both of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French in India, and had established the foundations of the Indian Empire. In the early days of their fierce struggle with their continental rivals in India, the English had little time to devote their attention to Ceylon. The first expedition to Ceylon was commanded by Colonel Stuart, who left Madras in 1795. Though at first the reception accorded to the

English by the Sinhalese king was cold; nevertheless, in course of time, they became close allies. Thus the English were able to substitute themselves in the place of the Dutch, whom they had ousted with the help of the Sinhalese. At the beginning their interest was strictly confined to trade, but later on they undertook to assist in the collection of the taxes. A Mr. Andrews was appointed as collector of revenue, and it seems from his experience of the usefulness of the Malabars he employed them for the collection of the revenue. The appointment of these petty officers from across the channel led to some misunderstanding which was rather unfair to them, for, as subordinate officers, they were merely instruments of the policy of a third party. This petty unrest was magnified into a rebellion and was adduced as a reason for the separation of Ceylon from India. For a time, owing to the opposition of the company, who perhaps saw no commercial advantage arising out of such a course, the proposal was held in abeyance till 1798, when the Crown took over the control of Ceylon from the administration of Madras. Thus the two countries which had enjoyed a close union and co-operation for centuries, and which were considered as one entity among themselves, as well as by foreigners, were separated for perhaps no stronger reason

than one of mere administrative "convenience." Even in the matter of administration mutual intercourse between the Governments of India and Ceylon was kept up even after the English came on the scene. This frequent consultation and contact is effectively seen in the policy of north towards the Sinhalese chiefs, which was more or less adapted on lines common in India. This policy was to listen to the grievance of the various chiefs and to appoint an "ambassador" for the ostensible reasons of protecting them. The ambassador had a bodyguard of two thousand soldiers stationed at Kandy, and this number seems alarmingly out of proportion to the purpose for which it was intended. All these steps were carried out after consultation with the Governor General of India and possibly with his approval. North was in active touch with the Government of India till the final exile of the Sinhalese king and even later. These facts are of the highest importance, because they show that though politically Ceylon had a separate existence, the administration of the two countries in those early years went side by side. Even a foreign nation thought it wise to consult the Government on the mainland. The silent and deep-laid influences of history kept the spirit of the two countries together even after their apparent separation.

THE GROWTH OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

THE Indian Mutiny of 1857 may be justly called the first war of Indian independence, and it marks the birth of Indian Nationalism. It was the emphatic protest of a country certainly not yet roused to full national consciousness; but moved by a vague discontent that the old order was changing and new forces were at work. The period preceding the Mutiny is one of increasing Western influence. The missionaries, like Alexander Duff and Marshman, and administrators, like Bentinck and Macaulay, triumph in their innovations, in spite of the foreign spirit of their labours. There was complete co-operation and whole-hearted support at that time to the alien government when the revolt first brought a part of India in the role of opposition.

The Mutiny was effectively stamped out. Its lesson was not lost upon the British Government, and the Empire which the merchant adventurers who went out to compete in trade with their European neighbours had founded

was taken under the direct control of the Crown. Although the direct attack of the East against the West had been a failure, other forces were coming into existence, such as to arouse a national spirit in the people. Among these the great religious revivals of India deserve a prominent place. The reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Keshab Chandra Sen had already succeeded to a great extent in their fight against orthodoxy, which emphasised the dividing and disuniting influences of caste and creed. Under their leadership the Brahmo Samaj became a reforming force in Bengal. The next movement had more of a national message. Ramakrishna Paramahansa laid the foundations of the new Vedantism through his discourses, which were remarkable for their simplicity. But Vivekananda, his disciple, was the prophet of the revival. By his clear and eloquent exposition of the deeper philosophy of Hinduism he brought home to India itself her profound unity. He was one of the first Indians whose personality won the admiration of the world for India's ancient civilisation, which came to be eclipsed by the narrowness of varied religious observances. Keeping aloof, as the movement did, from the dust and heat of politics, it was pregnant with a national spirit. Punjab, the province that produced the Sikhs, under Guru Nanak, and organised the

political opposition to the Maughals under the banner of a new religion, was the home of another movement. The Arya Samaj was founded by Swami Dayananda Saraswati, and was in a sense an indirect attack on Islam and Christianity by their active proselytism as the instrument of its own propaganda. The Samaj preached a return to the purity of the Vedic texts. The Theosophical Society was founded in Madras, and although at first it was purely a religious and philosophic cult it was later brought into the current of political activities by the entry of Dr. Besant, its leader, into the ranks of Nationalists. Various other societies with social and economic reforms as their objects sprang up all over India.

While these internal influences were fertilizing a growing germ of Nationalism, the circumstance of material advance was being supplied by the Government of India. After the transfer of India from the Company to the Crown the only visible and important change was the growing complexity of the administration; centralisation and efficiency became the password of the bureaucracy, and it was inevitable that Indians, too, should claim a share in it. As the thunder of the legions that suppressed the Mutiny passed it seemed as though the East was plunged in thought again; but the cast of thought had

changed its usual native hue as it became more and more political, owing to the policy of education, which was one of a few respectable legacies of the East India Company. In his famous Minute of 1827 Macaulay had decided in favour of English as the medium of future instruction in India and the year of the beginning of the Mutiny ushered into existence the universities of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. Political science, dormant since Chanakya's days, received a renewed attention and European history, which may fairly be called the autobiography of freedom, inspired in the student a passion for liberty. The immediate effect of the new learning on those few who received it was to alienate them from the masses and develop in them a craving to copy Western ways, not only of thought, but everyday life and even habits and dress. On the other hand, they had a tendency to hold in indiscriminate contempt everything old in India. Of course, it was not the avowed object of the educational policy to nurture any idea of a National India as such, though the improvement of material prosperity was indeed a necessity in the interest of the Government of India itself. The policy of education was regarded only as a means of material progress, administrative efficiency and intellectual culture, but not as an active means of constitutional progress. At the

same time, Indians who were educated in English became more and more conscious of their position, which they felt to be one of inferiority in their own country, and because they had very little voice in its government they began to drift towards building up a monument to interpret Indian Nationalism. It is necessary to grasp the principles by which the Government was guided. These principles were not the outcome of a continuous conscious and consistent policy, for it would not be true to ascribe to the varied personalities who held the position of Viceroy anything in the nature of a code of uniform principles. If the territorial expansion was the inevitable result of the force of circumstances, the mould in which the Government was cast was fashioned by the exigencies of Government with which a succession of Viceroys found themselves faced. But their purpose of improving the conditions of their newly-found charge was beyond doubt.

When piloting the Government of India Bill 1858, Palmerston said: "It is the duty of the nation to use its power in such a manner as to promote as far as they can the instruction, the enlightenment, and the civilisation, of the great populations which are now subject to our rule." But nothing was more remote from the mind of the statesmen of the time than the development

of India as a self-governing Dominion. It could hardly be expected of a country which had just then quelled a revolt that caused them no little anxiety. The Proclamation of the Queen that transferred the Government from the Company to the Crown assured to the people religious toleration and admission into the administration of the country according to the customs of India. It is apparent that the successive Viceroys were inspired by the task set to them of stimulating the peaceful industry of India to promote public works of utility and improvement and to administer the Government for the benefit of the country. These political rights, although of a negative nature, were indeed important assets to the citizens of India and provided a firm background in which the claim for positive rights of liberty were to grow. It was the desire of the Crown to bestow on India all the fruits of enlightenment and benevolent government. At the time the variegated millions of India were considered to be incapable of developing into a self-governing nation, with parliamentary institutions in any near future. This aspect of the matter is evident in the speech of Sir Charles Wood, the first Secretary of State for India, on 6th June, 1861, in introducing the Bill connected with the development of Legislative Council:

“The opposite extreme is the desire which is natural to Englishmen wherever they be, that they should have a representative body to make laws by which they are to be governed. I am sure, however, that everyone who considers the condition of India will see that it is utterly impossible to constitute such a body in that country. You cannot possibly assemble in one place in India persons who shall be the real representatives of the various classes of the native population of that empire.”

Perhaps it is relevant to our purpose to follow the speech further when he continues: “It is true that when you diminish the area over which legislation is to extend you diminish the difficulty of such a plan. In Ceylon, which is not more extensive than a large collectorate in India, you have a legislative body partly consisting of English, partly native, and I do not know that the Government has worked unsuccessfully.”

Nevertheless, these considerations did not deter the Government in its good work of benevolent proprietorship on an enormous scale. The British Government was not only a Government, but the chief proprietor, and the improvement of the State was carried on in spirit like the improvement of a large plantation. Perhaps there is a slight reflection of the Benthamite ideal of the

greatest happiness of the greatest number in the policy adopted by the Government; of course, interpreting happiness to the narrow sense as the pathetic contentment of the masses satisfied with peace and prosperity. At the same time the minority, in whom education had roused discontent, was ignored as a "microscopic" minority.

The first Viceroy to appreciate the fostering of liberty as an active force in Indian politics was Lord Ripon. Before him Lord Lytton's administration was a "government by dispatch-box, tempered by the occasional loss of keys." The Afghan War and the Vernacular Press Act had left behind a trail of unpopularity which it felt to the share of Ripon to allay. He repealed the Press Act and laid the foundations of local self-government in India. In the resolution of local self-government in India he admitted: "It is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that the measure is put forward and supported. It is chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular education." Though the aim of Lord Ripon proved to be only a hope, it was quite novel an ideal to the policy of government. Lord Ripon retired after the withdrawal of the ill-fated Ilbert Bill, which proposed to remove at once and completely every judicial disqualification based merely on race distinctions. He was followed by Lord Dufferin. A diplomat

by disposition and training, he was a man of a different type, and he set out to find a "safety valve" for Indian opinion in his characteristic manner. The Indian National Congress was the result.

The first remarkable gathering of Indians in Bombay that styled themselves as the Indian National Congress was organised by Hume, an ardent Liberal who was an ex-Secretary of the Government of India. While still in service he came to realise the growing discontent of Indians and how hopeless it was for them to ventilate their grievances. According to Sir William Wedderburn, Hume actually took counsel with Lord Dufferin, who advised him to let the Congress take the political problems first for consideration, whereas Hume had placed, perhaps with some justice, social reform before everything else. It was even suggested to secure Lord Reay, the Governor of Bombay, to preside over it, although the proposal was dropped. Thus the Congress movement was started with the friendly sympathy of the Government, and the Congress vociferously proclaimed their abiding loyalty to the British rule. Since the movement was started by the liberal ideas of a third party its roots had not yet penetrated into the Indian soil. So when Hume proposed to adopt Cobdenite methods to gain the objects of the Congress the Government

frowned on him, and the patronage that was changing into neutrality developed into hostility. At this time the Congress was not fortunate enough in having leaders—"men who would act," as Hume put it. A study of the resolutions of the earlier Congresses is illuminating as an index to the main heads of discontent among the educated classes. Expansion of legislative councils, a large share in the administration, reduction of military expenditure, and the dire poverty of India, were the subjects that came into recurrent notice in the Congress resolutions. But the general tone in which the proceedings were conducted was one of petitioning to the Government for favours, and not one of a legitimate claim for the rights of the people which they were prepared to defend through thick and thin. The body was considered by the Government as the representative of the educated minority and as separated by a wide gulf from the illiterate masses of India. "Lord Curzon," in defending the Indian Council Bill on the 25th of March, 1892, remarked that, with the exception of the microscopic minority of the literate, the life of the Indian "is not one of political aspiration, but of mute penury and toil," and the educated minority left the "amorphous residuum" absolutely untouched. But this amorphous residuum was galvanised into action by the religious revivals

which we have already noticed and other political events within as well as outside India. These new forces and new ideas were instrumental in giving birth to a new party.

The new party may be said to have come into active politics with the foundation of New India in 1901. It had in its ranks men of varied opinion, ranging from Tilak, with his policy of vehement opposition to the Government, to Hardayal, who advocated armed revolution. But they were united in their view that the mendicant policy of the Congress was inadequate for the realisation of Indian aspiration and that an organised and positive opposition was the only practical method of achieving the goal. Events outside India helped to encourage this attitude. Britain was involved in the Boer War, in which she was meeting with strenuous resistance. The Russo-Japanese War brought its moral that a white race is liable to defeat by a free Asiatic people who had made admirable progress in the course of half a century. In India only some dynamic leadership alone was required to guide the new party.

The leading personality arose in Tilak, who had already identified himself with the religious revivals of the Marathas and had launched his attack on Westernism. He declared that Hinduism had nothing to gain from either missionaries or Western rulers. A champion of orthodoxy, he

put the cause of his country before any other considerations.

The events that supplied the immediate cause of nationalistic action were of a provincial nature. The imperious policy of administrative efficiency followed by Lord Curzon resulted in the partition of Bengal, which was at once declaimed as an act over-riding the united nationality of the Bengalese. It was an extraordinary outburst of popular feeling, unprecedented in the history of Indian agitation. The boycott of British goods was organised and Nationalist thundered in the Press and on the platform. It was in the course of this agitation that the Bengali and the Mahratta national activities were fused into one embracing all India. In the Congress of 1905 the echo of Bengal resistance was heard, and even Gokhale, from his presidential chair, lent his countenance to the Swadeshi movement. Repression was the key-note of the policy that suggested itself to the Government, and the Viceroy did little to disguise his contempt for the nationalistic ideals, and his speeches were weighted with provocation. The reconciliation of the Right Wing and the Left Wing, which was thrown into acute animosity towards the Government, was a serious problem, threatening the Congress with disruption. The situation was saved by procuring Dadhaboy Navarojee, respected by both parties,

as President, and he tactfully avoided a breach. It was then that he quoted the saying of a British premier: "Self-government is better than good government"; the word "Swaraj" was also given prominence in the same speech. Congress signified a concession in principle to the Left Wing without committing itself to any revolutionary policy. Before the year was out the leaders of the new movement were prosecuted, imprisoned or deported, on the ground that their speeches and writings were the direct motive for the political murders which were a feature of those eventful years. Deprived of the leaders, the new party lost in force, leading to the "Surat fiasco" of the year 1907 when due to an uncompromising split in the Congress, the Left Wing severed their connections with the Congress, which fell under the control of the Right Wing. For nearly a decade the Left Wing worked outside the Congress.

The Government was not slow to take advantage of the situation. The ascension of Lord Morley to the India Office was followed by his attempts "to rally the Moderates" by the reforms which he carried out in association with Lord Minto. The enlargement of the Legislative Council by representation, on the basis of a franchise of high qualification and the concession of limited powers of criticism and control, did

not satisfy the demands of advanced opinion in India for a responsible Government. Even Lord Morley himself emphatically repudiated the idea "that the measures were not in any sense a step towards parliamentary government." Under the régime of the reformed constitution the resentment of executive measures, methods of racial discrimination, zeal for racial reform, and the demand for more and more liberal institutions were causes that kept alive the work of the nationalist movement. The Great War threw it into an acute focus.

The war had an encouraging influence on the national vision of the masses of India. The Indian soldiers who fought side by side with their ruling race gained admiration for their courage and persistence from impartial observers, and were proud of their newly-acquired fame that they were in no way inferior to their comrades in arms. This made a great impression upon the silent masses of India and brought home to their minds the political inferiority that they were suffering under. It changed the unchangeable East and India more than any other country.

As measures of safety during the War the Government passed the Rowlatt Bills, the Indian edition of the Defence of the Realm Act. Since at the time a large number of Indians from Canada and the United States imbued with ideas

of freedom and in possession of fire-arms had returned to their mother country, these formed the material of the Gahdr Movement, revolutionary in its principles and methods. The incidents of Budge-Budge in Bengal and the firing on an assembly of people in Jalianwala Bagh in the Punjab provided an immediate outlet for passion and awakening of India from its pathetic contentment and led to the demand for immediate self-government for India.

This spirit led to the capture of the Congress in 1916 by the Left Wing, who declared for the right of self-determination of India. For that purpose the Home Rule League was formed on 15th September, 1916, and the Commonwealth of India Bill was drafted. Another remarkable event of 1916 was the association of the Mohammedans with Indian Nationalism. Up till now the Mohammedans had been holding themselves aloof from the Nationalist Movement, owing to the exhortation of their leaders against any anti-British agitation. But the War, which had repercussions in different parts of the world and different spheres of life, touched the interests of the Mohammedans also. During the War Turkey had been ranged against the Allies, although the Arab States regarded it as an occasion to strike a blow for freedom from Turkish reign. But at the conclusion of the War the Turkish Empire

was destroyed. The Arab States, instead of getting the complete freedom they had hoped for, were given over to Allied Powers with the idea of schooling them in the art of government, which virtually amounted only to a change from the Turkish to European domination. The Mandate system shocked the Eastern world, and Mohammedans in India felt that their co-religionists were duped. The indignation roused by this fraternal feeling was a reason for disaffection towards the British, and a new movement, known as the Khilafat movement, came into existence. It was mainly confined to Indian Moslems and was sustained by the wonderful personality of the Ali brothers and declaimed on platform and in Press against British Imperialism, and this roused the Mohammedans, who hitherto had not taken active part of opposition in nationalistic affairs. In the War the services of India with men and money were so invaluable that it appeared ungracious, even to the British people, if India were unrewarded by a Concession of Freedom. In the Imperial War Conference, into which India had been admitted, it was already resolved that Britain should "recognise the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and foreign relations," and the Dominions should be considered "as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth and India

as the same." So here virtue was supported by necessity. These considerations led to the announcement of Mr. Montagu, on 20th August 1917, advocating a policy of "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." Substantial steps were taken immediately, and the policy came to fruition in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform proposals which were embodied in the Government of India Act, 1919. The new constitution enlarged the Legislative Councils, and in the system of franchise, but responsibility was divided by reserving some subjects to the Government while transferring others to the control of the Councils. The dyarchic aspect of this constitution was quite inadequate to satisfy the nation's demand for full responsibility, of which the reforms gave only a meagre instalment. The opposition in the country was organised under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi, who advocated non-violent non-co-operation as its policy and civil disobedience as a means of active attack. This great national leader showed a reserved friendship to the British during the War, and had earned fame in his earlier career in his South African campaign, where he had struggled

to win for the Indians a due recognition of their rights in the British Empire. The wrongs of the Punjab had led him to organise a Satyagraha movement, which primarily appealed to the national and religious instinct of the Hindus. So when he came into active leadership of the anti-British agitation the Mohammedans threw in their lot with his movement for reasons we have already seen.

However, the events in Turkey culminating in the fall of the Khalifate, took the wind out of the sails of the Khilafat movement, but already two great sections in India had been brought into closer contact. Meanwhile a section of national opinion, the Swarajists, thought it wise in 1923 to enter the Councils with a view to capture them by a majority and to show up the anomaly of dual responsibility by refusing to form Ministries in the Legislatures. Session after session the Swarajists groups brought resolutions to increase the pace of reforms and to secure for India full Dominion Status, as foreshadowed in the Declaration of 1917. The same demand was reflected in the Congress when it voted a resolution for Dominion Status in 1926. Due to this desire to hasten the reforms before the completion of the ten years as stipulated by the Government of India Act, a Statutory Commission was appointed in 1927. The personnel of the Com-

mission consisted entirely of members of Parliament from all parties, and this exclusively British composition of the Simon Commission was vehemently resented in India and a volume of protest was raised in which the voices of the various parties were united. The nomination of an Indian Central Committee to collaborate with the Commission did little to mitigate the feelings roused by the denial to Indians membership of a body appointed to examine and propose reforms in the affairs of their own country. Swarajists in the Councils recorded their protest by refusing to vote for the expenditure of the Commission. The Congress exhibited its disapproval by organising *hartals* and refusing to participate in the labours of the Commission. The National Congress of Madras in 1927 voted for a resolution of Independence, and to meet the taunts of British politicians that India was incapable of drawing up a Constitution of her own, the Congress decided to take steps for the preparation of a Constitution for India. For this purpose representatives of the Congress invited delegates from other important bodies like the Indian Liberal Federation and the Muslim League, and in February 1928 they voted for full responsible government. But differences arose over the question whether India should accept Dominion Status or stand for complete

independence. An earnest effort was made by the All-Parties Conference to solve this and other problems, such as the communal representation and the distribution of powers between the national and provincial governments, and in order to provide a solution to these problems a committee of ten, with Pandit Motilal Nehru as a president, was appointed. The Nehru Committee produced an admirable Report on the 10th August, 1928, embodying a draft constitution for India. The Report was discussed in the All-Parties Conference, which accepted it in principle, but left a section of the Congress who clung to complete independence free to carry on their work. The Congress of 1928 also approved the Report in principle, which was subsequently confirmed by the All-Parties Convention. It was also resolved that unless India was given full responsible government steps should be taken for a fighting programme of active Civil Disobedience to bring the Government to terms.

Meanwhile the Simon Commission had been touring India, collecting evidence for its Report with the aid of the Indian Central Committee, which felt its vicarious position keenly. The Commission met with great unpopularity in its tours. The Labour Government that came into power in 1929 saw the gravity of the situation and declared the Convention of a Round Table Con-

ference to discuss the future constitution of India. The Congress held aloof from the Conference, and under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi embarked on the Civil Disobedience programme. Added to the non-payment of taxes and non-violent non-co-operation, he employed a new weapon of active Civil Disobedience in the organised mass attempts to manufacture illegal salt. The movement was marked by wholesale arrests but the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, with great insight and sympathy for the aspirations of India, found that real statesmanship lay in coming to terms, which was accompanied by a Pact. A second Round Table Conference in London, to be held in the near future, hopes to unite all shades of opinion in India to meet the British Government and produce a Constitution to shape the future of India.

III

THE GROWTH OF SINHALESE NATIONALISM

I

AFTER the separation of Ceylon from India in 1798 the British possessions of Ceylon were declared a colony under the Crown. At first the English control was exercised only over the maritime provinces, and Kandy in the centre of Ceylon still retained its independence. But a cause of interference was supplied by the internal troubles of the kingdom. The king incurred the wrath and unpopularity of his chiefs by the barbarous massacre of the wife and children of his minister, Pilima Talawwé, whom he suspected of intrigue against him. The indignant chiefs rose in revolt and invited the British to their assistance. By a convention between the British and the Kandyan chiefs on March 2, 1815, the king was deposed, and the kingdom of Kandy was vested in the British Sovereign. The British in return guaranteed "the rights, privileges, and powers, of the chiefs," and the rights of the citizens according to their customs. The Buddhist

religion was to be maintained and protected. However, in spite of these assurances, the Kandyan chiefs found their powers curtailed and the people in general thought that it interfered with their customs, and before two years had elapsed a rebellion broke out and the British found themselves threatened very seriously. By the time the rebellion was put down the British had suffered serious losses, and, on the other hand, as the Donoughmore Report admits, "the Kandyan have been treated with a severity difficult to justify." The rebellion left a germ of discontent against the British which it took many years to extinguish.

Up to 1834 the affairs of Ceylon were managed by successive governors who were as autocratic as those under the Company, and their chief functions were unvaried from one régime to another. These functions consisted mainly in the collection of revenue, though by methods less barbarous than those of the early Dubashes who worked under Governor North and his predecessors. Some semblance of constitutional improvement was imparted to the administration of the country when an executive and legislative council were formed in May 1834. The executive council consisted of the governor, the military commander, a secretary, and the agents of the provinces. The legislative council was an

enlargement of the executive with the addition of four other officials. A few years later the first representative administration was introduced by the addition of six members chosen from the chief landed proprietors and the principal merchants. Three of these non-official seats were distributed among a Tamil, a Sinhalese and a Burgher member, each of them representing his particular community. The division of the country into five provinces each under an English Agent dissatisfied the Sinhalese chieftains, the Mudaliyars of the Low-Country and the Ratémahatmayas of the Up-Country, and resulted in another half-hearted rebellion in 1848. After the lesson of this disaffection the autocratic council was further enlarged, and in 1871 an Ordinance was passed revising the old system of village councils, and thus leading to the development of local self-government. In the Central Government the next step forward was taken by the increase made in the number of unofficals to eight, and by the addition of one seat for the Kandyan Sinhalese, and one for the Moors.

With the increase of prosperity due to the expansion of trade and industry and the spread of education, the Sinhalese became more and more desirous of a substantial share in the administration. An attempt had already been made as early as 1859 to obtain a change in the Constitu-

tion and some control by the Council over finance, but the proposal was unsuccessful. The wave of Nationalism that was sweeping over India did not leave Ceylon unaffected. When, as a result of Indian demands, the Morley Minto reforms were introduced to India, the Sinhalese agitation also came to a head, and in 1909 memorials from a number of organisations, communities and interests indicating certain reforms immediately necessary were forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. By royal instructions dated 24th November 1910, the Constitution of the Council was remodelled to consist of eleven official and ten non-official members. Of these latter, four were elected, while the remaining six continued to be nominated by the Governor. While accepting this grant of reforms, the Sinhalese kept up the zeal for their Reform campaign. Under the influence of social reformers like Colonel Olcott, Buddhist education on national lines was speedily progressing. The Ceylon Social Reform Society was busy at work to instil nationalism and Swadeshi into the Sinhalese nation. We find Ananda Coomaraswamy practising a lofty idealism that reminds one of the combination of the ideals of Mazzini and William Morris.

In spite of opposition the new Constitution was put into practice while other events were

strengthening the volume of protest from the nationalist quarters. The Great War was declared in 1914, and in the period of general unrest that followed a riot broke out between the Sinhalese and the Moors. It was said that the Government was partly responsible for the animosity of the two communities by fanning the flame of their rivalry. The Governor, Sir Robert Chalmers, put the Commander-in-Chief, who had arrived in the island a few weeks before, in charge of the situation, and, as was to be expected of a military officer, the methods of suppression of the riots were considered summary and high-handed. Martial law was proclaimed, and the country suffered from all measures of safety which the Government had adopted to meet similar situations elsewhere during the War. Deputations were sent to England, the Governor was recalled and Sir John Anderson was appointed in his place.

Meanwhile the national consciousness of the people was awakened, not only by the result of the riots, but also on account of the world war, which professed to make the world safe for democracy. But the most important influence upon Ceylon was the progress that the Indian National Congress was making in the Mother country.

A similar body arose in Ceylon to meet the

demands of the situation. A Ceylon Reform League had already come into existence in May 1917. At its third meeting, on the 10th December 1918, a resolution was moved that "a permanent organisation be formed for the purpose of co-ordinating public opinion and political thought and work by periodically invoking a representative Congress and carrying out its resolutions." As the Indian National Congress had done, they declared themselves as the living symbol "of the demand of a united Ceylon for the realisation of full responsible government within the British Empire." In 1919 the Ceylon National Congress formulated the following demands: enlarged Legislative Councils, extension of franchise, elected president of the Legislative Council, full control of the national finance, and a substantial national share in the membership of the Executive Council. In June 1920 the Secretary of State for the Colonies received deputations from various shades of opinion in Ceylon and passed an Order in Council on August 13th, 1920, further enlarging the Legislative Council to consist of fourteen officials and twenty-three unofficial members, eleven of whom were to be elected on a territorial basis. These reforms also met the demands of the Congress only half-way, and the Governor still retained discretionary powers of veto. In the Legis-

lative Council three unofficial members were admitted. We can see how inadequate these measures were if we examine the most striking characteristic of Sinhalese constitution. Since the unofficial members were not responsible for administration, whereas the official members were in a minority, it showed the worst features of dyarchy in the divorce of power from responsibility. In 1925 Sir Hugh Clifford, who succeeded Sir William Manning, was forced by the apparent unworkability of the Constitution to recommend the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the constitution and suggest reforms. The Donoughmore Commission was appointed to this task on 6th August, 1927.

The Report of the Commission, which has been received with mixed feelings, recommended an improved and remodelled Constitution, but held that it was not yet time to confer on the Sinhalese full responsible government, as had been demanded by them. They believed that the time for such advance would be ripe only after full administrative experience has been acquired by the ministers in charge of the Departments as organised under the new Constitution. These provisions are certainly not received with universal favour or agreement by the Sinhalese. The Donoughmore Commission proposed to give Ceylon a representative chamber, named the

State Council, to perform the dual functions of a legislative and executive council. The departments of Government are to be left in charge of the Chief Secretary, the Attorney General and the Treasurer, these to be known as Officers of State. They have full status of Ministers and act in an advisory capacity, the remaining seven groups of departments being in charge of the members of the State Council. The State Council for executive purposes divides itself into seven executive committees, each with an elected chairman, having the status of a minister and individually responsible for the administration of his department. The Legislative Council is to be composed of sixty-five elected members, twelve members nominated by the Governor, and three ex-officio members, thus making up a total of eighty. The election to the Council was based upon manhood suffrage and the franchise of women over the age of thirty; but the most significant measure recommended was the pronouncement in favour of representation on a territorial basis, each constituency conforming to a population standard of 70,000 to 90,000 people. Their opinion was against separate communal representation. The Commission thought it sufficient to safeguard the interests of the minorities by nomination of twelve members by the Governor.

According to this Constitution elections were held in Ceylon in June of this year. As an expression of protest and disapproval, a boycott of these elections was offered by the people of Jaffna, who are most susceptible and favourable towards the ideals and methods of Indian nationalism. They have refused the overtures of the Government for a second nomination day and a separate polling day. Apart from this gesture of non-co-operation, we see the methods adopted in India being taken up by the Ceylon National Congress when it secured seventeen seats in the new Council, four of them winning uncontested. It has declared that, "as far as the new Constitution is concerned, the Congress is going to give it a fair test while working for full responsible government as early as is reasonably possible."

A new era has dawned upon Ceylon, significant for its unusual national impulse for independence. Soon after the State Council was opened on 24th July 1931, a National Reform Society with varied and important objects of national work in its programme has come into existence. Among the objects of this society are a Dress Reform Movement, and a revival of national languages, the infusion of simplicity and thrift in the life of the people, and the production and the use of local commodities. Thus it

is an era of great national awakening inspired by a desire to emulate the deeds of Indian nationalism and to follow in the footsteps of the Mother country.

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IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

INDIA has been passing through a period of transition in her economic life, owing to the impact of Western civilisation that has made economic forces, not merely of national, but of international, importance, by the rapid progress that resulted from the industrial revolution it had undergone in the last century. Till the beginning of the nineteenth century India held her own among the nations of the world in her industrial products, and there was a wide demand for Indian manufactures in the European markets. 'Of course, many hundreds of years ago India was far ahead of any European nations in manufactured goods, although progress was slow and interrupted by petty wars, which are always a hindrance to economic advancement. Even at a much later period, when the merchant adventurers made their first appearance in India, the industrial development of the country was, at any rate, not inferior to that of the more ad-

vanced European nations. The reason for this pre-eminence of India may be found in its social and economic structure, formed by self-sufficient units. Though the methods of agriculture and industrial production were antiquated they were adequate enough in those days. The organisation of society into caste had all the advantages of close guilds. Individualism had to give way to communal feeling, and personal initiative and competitive spirit were tempered by custom and prescription. The industrial development of India is a tale of reaction and adaptation of this ancient system of economic organisation as it came into touch with Western industrialism. The development of the economic conditions of India has been very often slow, partly due to the temperament of the people, who were slow in adapting themselves to the change of times, and partly due to historical causes.

The power that moves men in economic activities is the desire for the satisfaction of wants which advance in proportion to the increase of population. As the population increases the circle of wants widen in variety and volume and production is stimulated to meet the demand; but with the progress of civilisation new forces come to operate and a static standard of living becomes an impossibility, such as is the case in all Western countries where the labourer to-day

enjoys the comforts and luxuries which were denied to Eastern potentates of olden days. But taking the case of the Indian labourer, his standard of living has changed but little from what it used to be centuries ago. Even to-day poverty prevents him from improving his life, while lack of education and a slavery to old customs make him slow to accept innovations in the habits of food and clothing. Although progress in the last two decades cannot be denied, compared to the Western advance it is negligible. This lack of interest in securing a higher standard of life has an unsatisfactory result, even when the wages are raised by the employer to improve efficiency. The desire of improving material comfort is not roused, and even if the standard of life becomes expensive it does not often tend to increase efficiency. Without proper education they failed to understand their responsibility, and after satisfying their few wants they spent their surplus income to secure greater leisure and do less work.

The reason for this apathy towards a higher standard of living is usually ascribed to the spiritual philosophy of the Indian, who is alleged to disdain the material comforts of life as inferior to ascetic ideals. This view, although flattering, on closer examination seems to be exaggerated. Though religious ideals have an

elevating influence, it would be untrue to believe the Indian labourer has an aversion to improved means of existence. The spirit of despaired resignation at the root of this indifference is more an outcome of historical circumstances. We are able to form an idea of the economic conditions of medieval India from the reports of foreign travellers and from a study of the administration of the Mughal Empire and the subsequent history of Indian political conditions. We can infer that there was extant every influence to discourage efforts at creative economic activity and to reduce the standard of living. The Mughal Government was an autocracy of the emperor, assisted by an aristocracy of a military character, who held the provinces at the emperor's will, making fixed annual payments to the imperial exchequer and maintaining a militia ready for service as the emperor required it. Even during the enlightened despotism of Akbar, the land revenue was assessed as one-third of the produce. Whenever the central supervision was remote or weak this assessment was honoured more in the breach than in the observance by the local revenue collectors, who had a tendency to be extortionate. In South India the conditions were not better. Nuniz, in his travels in Vijayanagar, observed that the military governors to whom the king made over the land "they in

turn gave it to the husbandmen, who had to pay nine-tenths to their lords." There is every reason to believe that the cultivator got only a narrow margin after payment of these exorbitant taxes. Besides, the régime of excessive taxation and the theory that the king owned all the land rendered the security of tenure a plaything of the royal will, a fact which discouraged the peasant from exercising his best efforts. The theory of private property was equally mischievous, since, as Sir Thomas Roe and Bernier and others point out, the padshah could at will claim property left by *omrahs* and *masubdars*, and in cases even private subjects. Under these rigid circumstances the betterment of the standard of life was an invitation for extortion by the authorities and saving was discouraged by the liability to royal dispossession. In the field of industrial activities the same disadvantages were discernible. Although the cities kept a brave show of luxury and magnificence, the conditions of workers were not enviable. The artistic crafts were kept alive in the *kharakanas*, or imperial workshops. But in these, Bernier says, labour was forced; and it was fear rather than pay that kept the workmen going. The industrial production must have been valuable and large in volume. But individually the people at large formed a background of chill poverty.

In the eighteenth century, when the European traders, who were to change the economic life of India, came on the scene, these features of inadequate production and faulty distribution were still more aggravated. The Mughal Empire had fallen to pieces, giving rise to a continual state of internecine warfare. Till the establishment of British rule there was the confusion of civil wars, foreign invasion and depredations by wandering hordes of robbers, amidst which conditions of economic advancement are hardly likely to flourish. Production was more or less confined to the needs of life. When the East India Company raised itself among the competitors of the throne of the great Mughal after the battle of Plassey, they were still essentially a commercial body. This brought them into contact with indigenous industries. Through their *Gomasthas*, who took contract for the supply of goods, they kept up the Mughal system of exploitation. At this stage the Company was not as interested in agriculture as in industry, though the indigo plantations attracted notice. At first the absorbing task of conquest and consolidation diverted their attention from active interference in the economic life of the country. Yet the essential conditions were promoted by the establishment of law and order and that tranquillity necessary to development which became

the professed object of the Government in the proclamation of Queen Victoria on 1st November, 1858.

A new era was opened in the economic history of India with the development of communications. It removed all the disadvantages of transactions between province and province and the self-sufficiency of the economic life of each village was rudely shaken. Till then the foreign traders by the expansion of communication by sea had opened up only the foreign markets, and did not bring about a shrinkage of India itself. The lesson of the Mutiny had shown up the strategic necessity of means of transport, but even Dalhousie in his famous minute of 1853 had foreseen the economic disadvantages as well. The scheme of railways laid down by him justified itself. By 1879 over ninety-eight million sterling had been attracted to it, and the exports of cotton and grain more than doubled themselves, with a proportionate increase in the imports. The period between 1850 and 1870 was one of industrial revolution for India. The movement of goods facilitated by the railways was further helped by the new type of steamship that came into vogue and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. The increased demand of raw material for export had caused an extension of the cultivated area and the specialization in

crops by particular localities. The access of world markets to India was accompanied by a rise in agricultural prices. When the cultivator in the village found himself in a position to share the profits from prices offered in far-off markets agriculture became commercialized to an extent never experienced before. But there is a school of thought holding that the railroads did not bring an unmixed blessing to the country. The railway lines were so laid as to encourage export of raw materials and imports of manufactured goods. The railway freights were also similarly managed. The industrial revolution that brought about large scale production dealt a severe blow to the cottage industries. India was thus all at once passing from a local to an international economy before the transitional stage of a national economy. The artisans thus displaced had to turn to the overcrowded labour in agriculture. The critics of railway think that even in famine policy the introduction of railways, although it facilitated rapid means of bringing relief, neutralised this benefit by encouraging export of grain, thus undermining the usual habit of storing it. In spite of all these objections it must be admitted that the influence of railway was predominantly beneficial to agriculture and industry.

Agriculture gives occupation directly or in-

directly to the vast majority of the population of India. The census returns of 1921 showed that the proportion of the population directly engaged in, or dependent on, agricultural or pastoral pursuits in India was 73.9 per cent. Thus it may be asserted that the man in the bazaar in India is less than the man in the fields of India. In normal years not only does agriculture supply the greater part of subsistence for the people, but contributes the bulk of India's exports. It also supplies the raw material for the staple industries like cotton and jute. Thus, although the aggregate output is immense, the productivity considered on a quantitative basis bears discouraging comparison to that of other countries. One may be led to think that in such an ancient country as India, with agriculture as its mainstay, the law of diminishing returns has set in. But it is well known that improved methods of cultivation and the aid of science can, to an appreciable extent, counteract the decreasing yield of each additional unit of production, and thus the adverse operation of the law can be postponed to a large extent. The defects of Indian agriculture are mainly found in the deficiencies of all the factors, production, land, labour, capital and organisation, and the progress of Indian agriculture consisted in the improvement of these factors. The implements of agriculture are as

ancient as in the Vedic times; the tenure of land in small holdings, though it has its advantages, precludes efforts on a large scale; organisation of labour is defective and capital was not well organised. To add to this the lack of adequate irrigation rendered the industry principally a "gamble in the monsoons." Above all, agriculture retained part of its ancient self-sufficient nature of providing sustenance to the village which formed the economic unit of India. With the expansion of the means of communication agriculture had expanded to the growing needs.

As we have already noticed, the Government could not ignore the material well-being of India. The land revenue from very ancient times made the main contribution to the exchequer, and the commercial interest that underlay the British conquest was an additional factor in favour of promoting agriculture. The agricultural policy of the Government is an illuminating reflection of the truth of this fact. In the middle of the nineteenth century, even in Western countries, agriculture was conducted on empirical methods till the Rothamstead Research Station was established in 1843 and the first agricultural college of Cirencester in 1845. The first proposal for a special Department of Agriculture in India came in 1866, but Sir John Lawrence considered

the scheme premature. Three years later the Manchester Cotton Supply Association urged the Secretary of State for India to take steps for improved cultivation of cotton raw material in which the Association was deeply interested. With the arrival of Lord Mayo, himself a practical agriculturalist, the question was re-opened. Although Lord Mayo recognised that no scheme of agricultural development could be complete without each province taking an active part in it, the discussions that followed the decision were in favour of a central secretariat. Accordingly the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce commenced to function in June 1871, and was in existence for eight years, when it was sacrificed to the exigence of finance. In the course of its brief life it held only a detached view of practical agriculture, having been more engrossed in the collection of agricultural statistics and the compilation of records. Save the valuable spade work in this direction, it did nothing of direct importance in the advance of agriculture. The Famine Commission of 1880 revived the question. In its researches into the causes and remedies of famine it came to the conclusion that among other things the extension of irrigation in suitable localities and the improved agriculture were essential for security in future against disastrous failures in food supply. This, then, is

- the first of the Famine Commissions, which "are landmarks in the agricultural development of India." The Central Department was revived in 1881, and provincial Departments of Land Records and Agriculture came into existence. The Department, as in the case of one founded in 1871, subordinated the work of direct agricultural improvements to the preparation of land record statistics regarding systems of land tenure and the tenable capacity of land. The next stage of progress is reached in 1888, when Dr. J. A. Vocleker was deputed to study agricultural conditions. In his report on the improvement of Indian agriculture he recognised the ability of the Indian cultivator, but at the same time he pointed out the urgent need of establishing a more organised system of enquiry, with a view to the spread of general and scientific education. He also recommended more efficient methods of tillage and cultivation essential for improvement. Ten years later, in the Budget debate of 1898, Mr. (later Sir) F. A. Nicholson called attention to the lack of funds of the Department and pressed for a more strenuous effort in the direction of agricultural development as distinct from statistical and record work. Lord Curzon, among his numerous activities, claims the credit of putting the Department on an efficient and practical basis. The line of policy of

the Department was indicated by the Famine Commission of 1901. It was recognised that the Indian cultivator was not ignorant of the experience in cultivation, and that in the mere practice of cultivation even the Departments had much to learn from him. But what he really suffered from was the want of an economic utilization of his hereditary skill, of the economy of the means of production and of the practice of organised help. They carried an excellent work in the improvement of agriculture and in teaching it to the better classes; the promotion of mutual associations, scientific research and experiment; inquiries regarding tillage and manure; the investigation of crop diseases and their remedies; the provision of improved seeds; and the better breeding of live stock. A momentous step was taken in 1904, when Lord Curzon created the Imperial Institute at Pusa, founded by the donation of Mr. Henry Plupps of Chicago. From 1905 the Imperial Government have made an Imperial grant of twenty lakhs of rupees for the maintenance of the Institute at Pusa and to the provinces where institutions like the agricultural colleges of Poona and Saidapet were established.

Meanwhile the irregularity of the rainfall which was a standing evil that beset the path of agricultural progress was being remedied by works

, of irrigation. Irrigation on an extensive scale was not unknown in ancient India, as is witnessed by the works of the Maurya and the Gupta periods in North India and the Pallava, Chola and the Pandyas in South India. But irrigation declined in the Middle Ages owing to the lack of capital and the engineering skill and the insecurity of tenure caused by civil wars and foreign invasions. Irrigation works sprang to life under the energetic policy of Dalhousie, who had the Ganges and the Jumna canals repaired. In the early nineteenth century the grand canal on the Kauveri was repaired. The Godavari and the Krishna works were undertaken in 1846 and 1857 respectively, bringing over a million and half acres under their benefit. A vast scheme for irrigation works financed by loans was opened, since the famine of 1866 showed the necessity of increased productions of food-stuffs. In the course of the early nineties and the beginning of this century the immense scheme of the Punjab Canal colonization was carried out. Since 1900 the Punjab and Sind Canal colony works, the Triple Canals project, and the S. da Canal have been completed. Four schemes of irrigation on a colossal scale are in progress, viz., the Sutlej Valley project, the Sukkur Barrage, the Niva Valley project, and the Methur Cauveri scheme, calculated to irrigate millions of acres.

The spread of scientific cultivation and improved irrigation would have been in themselves insufficient if the conditions of the peasants were left unimproved. The worst of them was his poverty and his perpetual state of indebtedness to money-lenders and a consequent want of capital for cultivation. In order to remedy this evil the co-operative Credit Societies Act of 1904 was devised to encourage him to form credit societies, thus providing him with means of improving lands and methods of cultivation. In 1912 the purpose of these societies, which has been confined to the function of credit and loans, was enlarged, since they were to be utilized for co-operative action, as seed distribution, purchase of manure, and implements and other activities immediately connected with cultivation. The progress of the movement has been most encouraging especially in the Punjab and Bombay, and co-operation now forms the most important factor and agency in agricultural development. Thus the development of agriculture has been taking rapid strides, and further improvements have been suggested by the Agricultural Commission of 1928 that has made an elaborate survey of this subject and suggested valuable steps that form the basis of future of agricultural development.

As in the case of agriculture, industries of

- India were organised in a self-sufficient manner, labour classified and conserved in the inflexible system of caste and production carried on with a view to meet the demands of local consumption. But the advent of British Government which supplied the peaceful background of development brought in its wake the industrial transformation of India. The British East India Company was interested not so much in the improvement of industries as in the development of agriculture as a source of raw materials. The history of industrial development in India is one of a transition from the régime of administrative exploitation through a period of indifferent doctrine to a conscious attempt at industrial development. The demand for industries in India was in a large measure carried in its earliest stages with Indian politics. The policy of encouraging exports of food-stuffs and raw materials, the inequitable excise duties on cotton, and the servile dependence on foreign shipping for transport were matters that were criticised on public platforms in the latter half of the nineteenth century. This movement led, with other economic causes, to the Swadeshi movement, and an attempt at developing industries on Western lines in the period between 1850-70. As we have already noticed, the railways and other means of communication had improved and

agriculture expanded. The American Civil War, had stopped the export of American cotton to England, thus stimulating cotton-growing in India; but these incidents did not to any large extent better the position of industry. The period 1870-1900 was one of comparative advancement to industries. During this time the influences of the preceding generation worked out in greater detail. A few industries of the modern type arose, but their growth was rather slow. Even this growth was mainly due more to external influences of the Civil War in the United States and the Franco-German War in Europe. The development of railways led to the mining of coal. The political troubles in other coffee-growing centres encouraged coffee plantations in India. But in the plantation of tea there is a steady progress. In general, however, the Indian Industrial development is unstable. In the west the Industrial Revolution had firm foundations in the establishment of key industries, such as the manufacture of iron and the establishment of workshops, whereas in India the key industries gained a firm footing only later than the formative period, and there are inadequate numbers of workshops even to-day. India not only did not manufacture her own machinery, but for the very basis of her industrializations she had to depend on other countries. Meanwhile the

- Government was dominated by a policy of letting industries look after themselves, not considering it necessary to lend a helping hand to nurse them in their infancy. It was engrossed in the improvement of agriculture; and with the increasing competition of Japan, not only in China and South Africa, but in India itself, the development of Indian industries was seriously threatened. One important event of the first decade of this century, however, is the establishment of the Tata Iron Manufacturing Company. It has become an industry of national importance and stabilises to some extent industrialism in India.

The Great War has affected yet another revolution in Indian industrial development. During the War the restricted facilities of communication prevented India from importing machinery from abroad, and she was faced with the problem of manufacturing them at home. Many of the imports of manufactured articles had been stopped and she had to substitute them by industries of her own. Besides all these, she had to provide herself with the equipments necessary for the prosecution of the War in which she played an important part. A Munition Board came into existence and a number of industries receiving encouragement from the Government sprang up. The vast resources of Indian forests were exploited to some extent. The paper industry

advanced under favourable circumstances, and big schemes for the generation of hydro-electric power were taken into consideration. But the most important effect of the War on Indian economic conditions was its influence on the money market. Until that time the Government had raised most of the loans abroad, mainly in England, owing to a belief that Indian capitalists were shy, and hence the money market inelastic. The result of this policy was thus a loss to India of a large amount in the form of interest charges. But the War rendered foreign borrowing difficult, and the Government was forced to turn to India as an inevitable resort. Contrary to expectation, the response of the Indian money market was surprising, and thus demonstrated its capacity for expansion. Since the War the Government as far as possible raises its loans in India itself, thus saving to India the interest charges deviated elsewhere before it took up this policy.

After the War the policy of active Government assistance to industry which began during the War was continued. On the other hand, the Indian industrialists demanded protection on the ground that most industries in their adolescent stages would not be able to face the competition which the absolute doctrine of Free Trade involves. Reports of the Industrial Commission

of 1918 and the Fiscal Commission of 1921 found these claims justified. Since then, although it began grudgingly, a policy of discriminate protection has been adopted by the Government.

Another factor which gave additional strength to Indian industrial development was the sentiment of *Swadeshi*, which spread rapidly in the last decade, owing to political reasons. This sentiment in its extreme aspect can be noticed in the cult of the *Charka*. Although it was introduced as a political weapon it touches upon the broader economic problem of the development of cottage industries. It is a well-known fact that in spite of the formidable competition of large scale production cottage industries obstinately survive all over the world. The success of the *Charka* for a time proves how a large part of the Indian temperament is congenial to the development of cottage industries, which play such a leading part in the economic history of ancient India. Cottage industry also offers a solution to the problem of giving employment to the agricultural labourer who finds time on his hands for a part of the year.

The future development of the economic conditions of India depend on the progress that education is able to achieve. The main criticism about the Indian labourer, whether in agriculture or in industry, is his lack of education and

the consequent lack of efficiency and a desire for a better standard of living. In the ranks of industrial management and control it is not ability that is wanting, but a systematic training of it. In the same way technical education and economic and industrial research are indeed deficient. In spite of all these defects the resources of India are so vast that, with her meagre development, she stands the eighth industrial country of the world. But when education and enlightenment removes all these defects, armed with the immense potentialities of a continent, India of the future can rank among the first industrial nations of the world.

V

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SINHALESE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

THE Portuguese, as we have seen, occupied Ceylon in the three-fold role of trader, soldier and missionary, but their religious zeal over-ran their other activities, bringing upon them the unpopularity which favoured the Dutch in gaining a footing in Ceylon. The main concern of the Dutch was trade, and in that capacity they constituted laws, organised factories and constructed canals and roads. So that when the English succeeded these two they profited by the experience of their predecessors and confined their interest mainly to the development, first of commerce, and then to the acquisition of territory. It can be said in this case that the Flag followed the Trade. Therefore when they entered into a covenant with the Kandyan chiefs they solemnly bound themselves to honour the religion of Ceylon, keep intact the temples, and the lands dedicated for the use of these, and keep them free from taxes and not to violate their accus-

tomed privileges and prerogatives. But in spite of their agreements the methods of the tax collectors were unpalatable to the Sinhalese and we find that this economic reason was as important as the political grievance that caused the first serious outbreak against British rule. It was fortunate that the Governors who were sent out from England were bent more upon conciliation than provocation. Thus the business of establishing trade went apace and the English had no reason to be sorry that they had acquired Ceylon from the Dutch. The prosperity of trade during the Dutch régime can be seen in the annual export of the one commodity of cinnamon, which reached what was at that time the formidable figure of 600,000 pounds. In the money of that day it was worth over £400,000. The English succeeded to this monopoly and maintained it till the year 1833. After that date the English Government yielded its special privileges, but still remained a competitor in the trade till the year 1846. The Dutch, undaunted by their failure in Ceylon, developed their East Indian possessions and became at the time the serious rivals of the English in the cinnamon trade. Because of the heavy export duty levied on it by the English the cinnamon trade of Ceylon began to decline. Although in 1846 this duty was abandoned it was too late to save the trade, and

Ceylon never again gained the first place as an exporter of cinnamon. All administrative and legislative activities of this period centre round the all-important item of trade, and the political development that followed the English occupation of Ceylon of this time resulted more as trade expediencies than as benevolent acts of a patron.

The government of the country was carried on by the Governor, whose seat was at Colombo, with a Council of Ministers, all of these being Englishmen. The country was divided into provinces, and over each province an agent was appointed to collect the revenue. The share of administration the Sinhalese had was in acting under these agents in the collection of revenue. These subordinates were called Mudliyors in the "Low-country" and Ratémahatmayas in the central provinces. Under them were headmen called *Vidanés* in the "low-country" and *Koralas* in the up-country. At the bottom of the scale was the farmer of Ceylon, the "goiya," equivalent to the *ryat* of India.

Ceylon has always been an agricultural country distributed among these peasant proprietors. This peasant-proprietorship helped to develop in these men a sturdy sense of independence which prevented them from interfering in the affairs of the country at large unless these affairs directly interfered with their own. As in all un-industrial

countries of old, the government was carried on, more by a voluntary form of service than by a mercenary system of direct control. Thus at certain times of the year these peasant-proprietors would voluntarily offer their service in public interests, such as the building and repairing of roads in their districts. This service was called *Rajakarya* (work for the *Raj*, or the State) and is not to be confused with *begar*, or the system of enforced labour in India. The King derived the means of royal expenditure by the share of the produce of the land that he obtained. This ancient method was replaced by the English by a poll tax or head tax. Every male over the age of twenty-one, irrespective of his income, had to pay two rupees every year. The system of voluntary labour was abolished and was replaced by hired labour, for which wages were paid. This innovation was salutary and in any case inevitable in modern days, but in the case of Ceylon it created a gap in the supply of labour which had to be filled by imported labour from South India, especially since it was a period of industrial revolution in Ceylon. The virgin forests were being cleared and converted into vast plantations of tea, rubber, cocoa, and coffee, leading to a demand of labour on a large scale. The Sinhalese peasant, used to his occasional voluntary labour, and possessing his patch of land sufficient for his

• bare needs, did not find it agreeable to enlist himself for regular organised labour, even in consideration of the wages; so the labourer of South India, where rural agricultural work was comparatively less remunerative, immigrated to Ceylon in large numbers for work in these growing plantations and industries. Thus began one of the worst abuses that were the product of new development in plantations, in the form of indentured labour, which had to be recently abolished by legislature. The part that the South Indian labourer has played in the economic development of Ceylon is inestimable, for without his timely arrival on the scene Ceylon would not have to-day attained its present commercial position. Side by side with the development went on the improvement—the means of communication by the introduction of railways, the construction and repairs of a network of roads. In this island, which is only two hundred and seventy miles long and one hundred and forty miles broad, there are already 952 miles of railway of which 835 miles are broad gauge. In this, too, the South Indian labourer has been the standby. The roads were to a large extent gravelled and utilised for vehicular traffic.

Along with this commercial development in Ceylon education has also advanced. The Sinhalese have been very susceptible to external

influence. In fact their very first civilisation has been brought by Vijaya. In later times, when the Portuguese with their apostolic zeal for religion took control of the nation's affairs, they did much in their short régime to convert Ceylon into foreign ways. Apart from the religious conversion, the changes which they brought about in language and customs are numerous and remain to this day. And the Sinhalese, to some extent for their good, still retained some imitative quality when the English took over the control of the island. The English education spread, and later on, as we have noted, the Buddhist revival under social reformers gave an impetus to vernacular education.

Ceylon is essentially an agricultural country, having no export trade in live stock and only very little in mineral products. Three quarters of the country's export consist of the products of tea, rubber and coconut plantations. The progress made in these agricultural industries is remarkable for the last half a century and has contributed substantially to the increase of trade and prosperity which the country enjoys to-day. Although up till 1901 the development was unsteady and fluctuating, ever since the total area under cultivation has increased nearly twenty-five per cent in the period 1881 and 1927. Of this total area under cultivation coconut estates

• occupy twenty-eight to thirty per cent, paddy twenty-seven per cent, while rubber and tea occupy fifteen and fourteen per cent. respectively; the remaining fifteen per cent. is devoted to various produce, as cinnamon, cardamon, cacao, tobacco, cotton, etc. First in importance in the acreage under cultivation is coconut, which is expanding rapidly inland and shows an increase of more than seventy per cent. between 1881 and 1928. The various products of coconut, like copra, oil, coir, etc., contribute sixteen per cent. of the total value of domestic exports in 1929, finding its way into a variety of markets over Europe.

Paddy fields, although they rank second in extent of cultivation, nevertheless, supply only a third of the requirements of the country, the remaining quantity of rice for the consumption of the population being imported from India. It is the problem of agriculture to increase the supply of rice by the improvement of the extensive tracts of land called the "dry zones." In these parts malaria is the chief obstacle to progress, and even if malaria is successfully combated the sparseness and the irregular distribution of the rainfall renders the task still difficult. The main remedy lies in irrigation on a larger scale. Irrigation has been carried on, even in ancient days, and the Minneriya tank repaired in recent times

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covers 5,000 acres, and is capable of irrigating twenty thousand acres, though, owing to lack of enterprise and due to the fear of malaria, only a thousand acres are available. There is an Irrigation Department with its headquarters at Trincomalee, expending over £100,000 a year, and more than two hundred irrigation works like tanks, wells and other minor works provided or maintained by the Crown, irrigating over 150 thousand acres. This effort of the Government is supplemented by private enterprise of village tanks and local schemes affecting an area of nearly two hundred thousand acres. The Irrigation Department is also responsible for engineering works as a safeguard against floods. Another of the evils of agriculture, as well as a problem of public health, is the old traditional and shifting method of cultivation called "chena," which is practised by the people. The system consists of burning a patch of forest, cultivating a catch crop of cereals, abandoning it again to be overrun by the forest. Permanent settlement and continuous cultivation are desired to supersede the present system.

There is an Agricultural Department with headquarters at Peradeniya, with botanical gardens, a central experimental station, laboratory and library, a rubber research institute, and a farm school of twenty-seven acres. Similar schools are

, projected at Jaffna and Galle. There is an increasing spread of instruction in agriculture in vernacular schools, which are encouraged to maintain small farm gardens, and prizes and scholarships are awarded to agricultural students.

Tea is easily the most important commercial crop of Ceylon, accounting for fifty-four per cent. of the total value of the exports. Ceylon, after India, is the largest tea-producing country in the world, having U.S.A. and Great Britain and other European countries as markets. It is one of the most progressive, scientific and best organised industries in the world. Ever since 1873, when there was a decline of coffee on account of disease, tea plantations made great headway, so that the area under cultivation increased thirty-fold between 1881 and 1901, and at present covers from four hundred thousand to 460 thousand acres. In recent years the industry has undergone great improvements, not only in the methods of cultivation and manuring, but also in factory technique and organisation. Since the War a large volume of capital has been attracted to the tea industry, enabling the industry to take rapid strides in bringing factory organisation and equipment up-to-date. The export for 1921 has been 251.59 million pounds of tea.

Rubber plantations began to flourish since 1911, and the enormous progress it has made is

evident from the fact that export of this commodity is thirty times as much as it had been in 1911, and constitutes twenty-three per cent. of the exports of Ceylon, in spite of the slump of trade as a result of over-production in the world. The total area cultivated extends over nearly 600 thousand acres, of which more than eight-ninths is made up of estates over ten acres, while the rest are comprised of very small holdings. Of these, sixty per cent. are owned and worked by European capital and enterprise, the Sinhalese owning only forty per cent. of the industry. The main market for rubber is the United States of America.

Ceylon is the world's principal producer of cinnamon and citronella, and produces cocoa of the highest grade and price in the world. In mineral wealth, although Ceylon is not remarkable in volume, nevertheless the sapphire mines of Ceylon yield many other precious stones, which constituted one of the main articles of merchandise with early Arab traders.

The trade in precious stones amounts to the annual value of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. Ceylon is the only part of the British Empire where plumbago is found, and it has a productive capacity of about thirty thousand tons. In the industry modern machinery is extensively used and it is progressing.

Various thorium and uranium minerals exist in Ceylon, and monozite, used in connection with the manufacture of gas mantles, has been commercially exploited. A certain amount of mica is also obtained.

The industrial progress of Ceylon has given rise to various problems of labour, chief of them being connected with labour imported from India. There is no indenture labour at present, and an Ordinance securing a legal minimum rate of wages for Indians employed on estates became law in 1927. The Ordinance provides for the establishment of Wage Boards in various districts, prohibits employment of children under ten, and has set the limits of the work to nine hours a day.

The number of Indian labourers employed on estates in Ceylon has been estimated at seven hundred and twenty thousand, and the number of men, women and children is roughly equal. The Government supervises their conditions of recruitment, inspection and travelling arrangements. To safeguard their interests an Indian emigration agent is stationed in Ceylon. Many of the estates provide education in estate schools, and housing and sanitation are carried out according to Government regulations. Many estates have established crèches, where the mothers can leave their infants under due care while they are

away at work. The larger estates possess their own hospitals, well equipped and under doctors duly qualified, dispensing medical aid free for their labourers. Food materials are supplied by some estates, usually at less than cost prices and housing is very often provided free.

For the last half a century Ceylon has thus undergone a period of vigorous economic development that has produced a many-sided progress in her various industries like tea, rubber and the plantations of coconuts, so that she can import a large quantity of food-stuffs from India, and her coal, iron and steel manufactures from abroad without any serious commercial disadvantages. The United Kingdom forms a market for the bulk of her tea; the U.S.A. is her leading customer for rubber, while coconut products find their way into a number of markets of Europe. India consumes most of the tobacco, and the arecanuts and coconut oil goes mainly to Britain and U.S.A. Cardamon export is shared between Germany and England. Her economic development in all these directions has raised Ceylon to the second rank among British colonies.

VI

THE ARGUMENTS FOR THE UNIFICATION OF INDIA AND CEYLON

THE history of Ceylon and her relations with India which we have sketched in the preceding pages show that the contact between the two countries have been cordial and continuous till the brief interval of a few decades after Ceylon was separated from India on the sole ground of administrative convenience. The earliest contact known to history was established when the Tamils of South India set up storage houses on the east coast of Ceylon for the purpose of trade with such progressive countries as Babylon and Egypt. This intercourse was renewed and strengthened when Vijaya and his followers colonised and ruled over Ceylon. It was remarkable, because, in establishing this settlement, they permanently identified themselves with the interest of the country of their adoption. In course of time the influence was strengthened when Vijaya and his followers renewed their relations with the parent country by marriage.

exchange of embassies and commercial enterprise.

A more significant event that tended to produce a closer tie was the religious transformation of Ceylon. More intimate in its character, more momentous in its significance than any of the previous impacts, was the mission of Mahinda, the son of Asoka. From that date was Ceylon infused with that religious spirit of India which still remains a real and effective link between them. From what has been an almost primitive feudal state Ceylon became a constitutional monarchy with a State religion of its own, with a code of ethics binding monarch and subject alike. It created that unprecedented impulse for expression in art and architecture that only the advent of a new religion can give to a people. Henceforth, besides the usual commercial and matrimonial relations, Ceylon called upon India to provide her with artists and artisans and scholars to the service of her new religion. In those days, when facilities for travel were limited, people followed, as is to be expected, the line of least resistance, and the relations were mainly confined to South India. In course of time the South Indian chieftains developed an acquisitive spirit, leading to various invasions, culminating in the epochal conquest of Ceylon by the Elara. Since that time Ceylon was steadily pervaded by

temples, and even for their necessities as live-stocks and food-stuffs. On the other hand, those on the mainland should have gone to Ceylon for such products like spices and gems which nature has bestowed on her. Thus the civilisation of the two countries grew apace, not in separation and antagonism, but as one and the same. In fact, the two countries were so similar in development up to the pre-medieval ages, that the foreign traders who visited Ceylon did not draw a sharp distinction between India and Ceylon, and the cultural unity of Ceylon with India made them regard the island as a continuation of the mainland. The slightly divergent course that Ceylon had taken after the advent of the English can hardly be said to have profoundly shaken the old influences that have taken root in the soil. Deep in the foundations of Ceylon may be found the same principles which sustain the underlying unity of India.

The first foreigners who came to Ceylon were the Moors, whose achievements had reached a high stage of development. Since they had already founded settlements on the West Coast of India, they also brought a uniting rather than a separating influence to Ceylon. They contributed to cement the alliance by the frequent communications with their colony established in Malabar, where they had already intermingled with the

people. The friendly attitude of the Sinhalese encouraged them to settle in Ceylon as they did in Malabar. The Moorish population of Ceylon and India still carry on their amicable relations.

The next event that affected the destiny of Ceylon, united to India in spirit, but divided by the geographical fact of the narrow strip of water, was the arrival of the Portuguese. Lured to the East by the romantic accounts they had heard from the Arab traders in the markets of Europe, they were the first Europeans to open up the sea route to India, where they established trading settlements like Goa. But the Arabs, who wanted to keep Ceylon as their own preserve for trade, refused to divulge the situation of Ceylon, so that the Portuguese had to discover it by themselves. Again by this happy accident the Indian possessions of the Portuguese had grown five years before they gained a footing in Ceylon. Therefore the Portuguese fell back on Goa as their base of operations and developed it as their centre of trade and empire, with the object of extending it to Ceylon in course of time. Thus they came to regard Ceylon as an annexe of India. Once again the influence of India was brought to bear upon Ceylon, even by those foreigners who controlled the administration of Ceylon from Goa, thereby imparting a unity of policy to their transactions in India and

Ceylon alike. With this political suzerainty the Portuguese introduced their characteristic tradition of reformation in religious and educational zeal. The south-western parts of India and Ceylon were wound into one homogeneous unit by the threads of the apostolic zeal of the Portuguese. The credit for this achievement can rightly be allotted to those responsible citizens of Goa who not only transmitted their religion to the Sinhalese, but also gave their culture to them, thus forging still another link between the two countries. Politically also they considered India and Ceylon as one, and knit their possessions in both countries together. The Captain-General of Ceylon was under the control and direction of the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa. The scattered possessions on the west coast of India alone would not have invoked from the Portuguese any great enthusiasm without the influence of Ceylon. It was because they considered Ceylon and India as one cultural and ethnological unit that they desired to add a common religious tie in the foundation of their Eastern empire, although at this period of history Western nations were frankly out for commerce. Therefore one must conceive of this period as one not merely of political and commercial activity between South India and Ceylon, but of a period of incessant social and cultural exchange.

When the English took over Ceylon from the Portuguese, it was naturally subjected to the government of Madras. In those days even the English, who later on professed to find great administrative difficulty in keeping them together, naturally added Ceylon to the administration of South India. In the earlier days they found the affinity between the two countries so close that they appointed Malabar petty officials to subordinate positions in Ceylon, but later on the united course of the history of Ceylon with India was diverted by the separation of the island from the parent country under the pretext of improving administrative efficiency. By investing it with the status of a Crown Colony, Ceylon was given reason for a false pride that in the Commonwealth of the British Empire they had a different position from their parent country. But the common ground on which the two countries stood was so firm that although Ceylon had been detached from the administration of Madras the English Governor was forced to consult continuously and act with the co-operation of the Indian Government. Though the fiat of the imperial policy abruptly made Ceylon a Crown Colony, the fight for political freedom and constitutional advancement in Ceylon has run on lines parallel to those of the Mother Country. As we shall see in the later cases, the influence of

national agitation came directly by the inspiration and guidance of India.

From 1815 Ceylon had a constitution of its own, and perhaps by its separate existence Ceylon might have escaped a few complications that India had to suffer from. But the gain is negligible in comparison to the tremendous loss that Ceylon has suffered by the political separation. Notwithstanding this political separation, however, Ceylon and Indians have come to be united in their policy of opposition to their rulers and had been increasingly dependent on each other during the last hundred years. The simultaneous national awakening of the two countries is as remarkable as the parallel lines of development of the national resistance which they have followed. It is our purpose here to sketch briefly these lines of development which would speak for themselves, and show how the two countries are ripe for union.

There was no upheaval in Ceylon to equal the Indian Mutiny in importance, since the issues in India were more grave. Nevertheless, the impulses released by the Mutiny found their repercussion in Ceylon. In India the national awakening took the three-fold aspect—social, religious and political. In Ceylon it imitated the mainland by adopting the policy of religious and political action to some extent. Naturally, the social

problem in Ceylon did not demand the same acute analysis. But there is certainly an exact parallel to the religious revival in India when Ceylon reacted against proselytization by starting private Buddhist schools and by changing their adopted Christian names into Buddhist ones and by generally proclaiming with pride their Buddhist heritage. Still later it again followed the example of India when it made Art and Swadeshi an inseparable twin slogan. Crafts characteristic of their native culture were preferred to those of foreign origin. All articles made in their homeland were esteemed in value and worth. The most outstanding aspect of this awakening was in the political field. The Constitution of 1815 was a mere formality. The actual semblance of a Constitution was promulgated only in 1833, when Ceylon was granted an Executive Council of *five* members and a Legislative Council of *ten*. Then for a period of *fifty-six* years this fertile island, increasing in prosperity and commercial importance, continued to be administered by this inadequate skeleton—a government. There is more than passing interest in the fact that the next reform of the Constitution was in 1889, *four* years after the inauguration of the Indian National Congress. The following years saw a remarkable intercourse between India and Ceylon. The Buddhists of Ceylon suddenly realised that

the most important centre and origin of their religion was situated in the heart of Hindusthan—in Benares—and hordes of devout Buddhists started to make annual pilgrimages to India. At the same time the zealous Hindus, especially of South India, realised that their ancestors had established a number of important centres of pilgrimage in Ceylon, and therefore these resumed the old contact between India and Ceylon. Further, every new organisation that had sprung into existence looked back to India for inspiration and example, and thus after 1889 the Sinhalese kept up an agitation for more substantial representation in their Government. Though not equal in intensity to the Swadeshi movement in the parent country, in 1905 and the years following the Sinhalese agitation was certainly a derivative from Indian Nationalism. A year after the Morley-Minto reforms were introduced in India, the Legislative Council of Ceylon was enlarged in numbers and strength and consisted of *twenty-one* members, of whom *ten* were elected. Neither the Morley-Minto reforms nor the Constitution of Ceylon satisfied either people. India demonstrated her discontent by methods and means that were ardently patriotic, while Ceylon chose to represent her grievances through memorials and deputations to Whitehall. The Great War intervened, and the minds of the people of

both States were turned towards the world catastrophe. But the dominant element in both countries did not ignore the seething discontent that lay under the surface, and the Government continued to apply methods of repression in both countries. An occasion provided itself in Ceylon when the claims of the Sinhalese and the Mohammedans, whose political interests had been nursed separately, as in the case of India, clashed, and a serious riot broke out in 1915 between the two communities. The methods employed by the Government to quell the riot were resented by the Sinhalese, and they realised that India and Ceylon shared one common grievance and one common aspiration. As a result the Ceylon Reform League came into existence on 17th May, 1917. Identical reasons which changed the "Indian National Union" to the "Indian National Congress" on the eve of its inauguration the Ceylon Reform League opened its first important sessions on 13th December 1918, as the Ceylon National Congress. Having benefited by the example of the stages through which the Indian National Congress had passed and the agitation into which India was thrown by the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, the Ceylon National Congress at its very first sessions announced that its objective was full responsible government. The Government hoped to allay

the political agitation of the Sinhalese by a further instalment of reform of the Legislative Council in August 1920, but even this did not curb the growing unrest in Ceylon, which constantly received its impetus from the events that were taking place in India in those eventful years. Somewhat anticipating developments, the then Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford, recommended the appointment of a commission to report on the Constitution of Ceylon. The Donoughmore Commission was consequently appointed to this task, and it recommended the creation of a State Council to perform the dual functions, legislative and executive, the Legislature to consist of sixty-five members elected on a territorial basis and under a manhood franchise. Women over the age of thirty were for the first time included in the electoral roll. The elections have just taken place, and the new constitution is being tried out. This period brings Ceylon to a most interesting phase of its Nationalism; perhaps the climax of the past years of nationalistic struggle.

The latest election was boycotted by the Tamils of the northern province. They constitute nearly a third of the island's population, and with their boycott it is doubtful whether the other minorities, like the Burghers and the Mohammedans, and even the Sinhalese who have co-operated, can achieve any definite success.

The situation closely follows the boycott of the Simon Commission and its sequel, the first Round Table Conference by the Indian National Congress.

No better example of two countries passing through the same political vicissitude and pursuing the same national aspirations can be found as India and Ceylon, as the events we have recently sketched justify. The interests of these two countries have so coincided in political history that their union would give birth to a State free and united, because both of them have gone through the same circumstances and had the same lines of advance.

Economically both the countries have been undergoing the converting effect of the industrial revolution. The establishment of modern means of communication over the most outlying parts of India has brought the different provinces together, not only increasing their economic needs, but also making them economically interdependent. This contributed to a revolution in the social outlook even in rural communities, leading to a policy of expansion and greater mobility of labour. As already indicated, this movement had a direct effect upon Ceylon, for the labour of South India helped to cover Ceylon with a network of railways and to transform the dense stretches of forest into produc-

tive plantations of coffee, tea, cocoa and rubber. Considering how Indian enterprise and labour have contributed to the present prosperity of Ceylon, it stands to reason that a unification embracing the economic interests of the 'two countries can lead to a pre-eminence in the special trade possibilities of both countries. An instance may be cited in the present situation of the tea industry, in which India holds the premier position with Ceylon coming second. A combination of the interests between the two countries would confine the industry within India and Ceylon, and at the same time extend its sphere of production. At present this possible economic advantage is divided on account of the political separation.

A passing reference may be made to the projected scheme of linking up the railway termini between the Straits, which will be a physical symbol of the union of both countries.

The economic advantages that would follow the union of India and Ceylon cannot be exaggerated. We have already seen that, in the aggregate, volume of export trade in Ceylon from India bear no mean share. Especially in commodities like tea, coffee, rubber and spices, the production of which is common to the mainland and Ceylon, a pooling of resources is of vital import to the future of these industries. Although

the immediate effects may bring about a few defects, a far-sighted policy would see that a union will be to the lasting good of both countries. In short, Ceylon would gain all the economic advantages a comparatively small country, however prosperous it might be, could gain as a result of association with a larger country whose economic conditions are more or less the same. Considered closely, the economic problems of India are intimately allied to those of Ceylon and a common solution can be easily found by cordial co-operation and not competition.

If Ceylon be viewed in the light of a colony which is apt to be exploited by a foreign country in its own interests, the argument for union is only further supported. As a member of the great union of India, Ceylon can claim and enjoy the protection and safety which a large unit would be able to maintain against an external economic policy which may not be beneficial to it. On the other hand, Ceylon would be free from any protective measures that India may find necessary to take in future in order to safeguard her industrial position. A detailed examination of these points is precluded by the limitation of space in this volume.

History speaks in clear accents of the profound influence that the two countries had on each other and the friendly and intimate contact that

they maintained till their political separation. It is surprising that the proposal for a reunion of the two countries after the separation did not come earlier, while all the facts of their well-being point unerringly to such a course. Perhaps the only explanation is that the mainland was deeply engrossed by the problems of the political freedom on one hand, while, on the other, Ceylon kept the noiseless tenor of her way through her steady economic development and material prosperity. It is hardly necessary to emphasise the fact that a few decades of separation effected in favour of mere administrative convenience should not stand in the way of a union of India and Ceylon. In this connection it is not wise to ignore the feeling of insular pride that might have developed in a Sinhalese, as a *citizen of Ceylon*. But this is no real impediment to the unification. In India itself this feeling is evident, and an illuminating example is offered by the Native States, who still cling to tradition and local patriotism. But even they have not found it inexpedient to gain a Federated India. Another problem is that Ceylon may find that certain administrative details and other matters are peculiar to her own and best left to herself. Even this problem is not unknown to India, because the provinces of India itself claim an amount of autonomy which it has been found

possible to accommodate with a central control of affairs of uniform national interest. So a federal system of one sort or other can be created to suit the needs of Ceylon.

It has been said that a federal state arises out of various states desiring union without unity. Its typical example is the United States. But recently various federal unions have sprung up proving that a degree of unity can be achieved without impairing the essence of federalism and that provisions of a strong central government keeping the residuum of powers can still afford to leave powers sufficient to satisfy the provincial or State requirements, as in the constitution of the Dominion of Canada. It is idle to describe the various forms of federalism here, since constitutions can never be copied, nor written, by a single individual, but should be formed by discussion and deliberation based on the facts of historical tendencies. Upon this principle the facts of history are rich in arguments for unification of India and Ceylon, and a great common measure of agreement can be easily reached between them. All the necessary conditions of a federal union are present in the case of India and Ceylon. Geographically they are one, politically they were parts of the same administration till the end of the eighteenth century; culturally and socially the kingship is so intimate as we have

seen in the historical portions of the book. We have just indicated economically there is a great deal to gain by a federation of India and Ceylon.

What difficulties do the opponents of such a scheme imagine there are in the way of federation? Practically none seems to be in view. Is there a likelihood of India refusing to take Ceylon into federation? What could her reasons be? What reasons are there for Ceylon to decline such an opportunity? She would not be compromising her independence by being a partner in the federation. On the contrary, she would at last be absolved from the tutelage of a foreign Power. In addition she would share the prestige and vast resources of India. Assuming that India and Ceylon gain their independence, there can be no difficulty for them to federate. But if India becomes a dominion it might be urged that India and Ceylon, being parts of the British Empire, cannot federate without the consent of the British Parliament and that the British Parliament would not give its assent because it would be against the interest of England. But several instances of federation within the British Empire have been accomplished without any such serious disadvantage. On the other hand, it has helped to keep intact the far-flung groups of the different and distant Dominions of the British Commonwealth.

The various provinces of the Australian Commonwealth, before their federation in 1900, owed allegiance separately to Westminster and were administered separately. Saskatchewan and Manitoba, before they came into the Canadian federation, were exclusive entities. When these various groups formed their respective federations England did not suffer the slightest loss. In the same way, her position would be made more secure by the unification of India and Ceylon. A self-governing India is an asset to her. A self-governing and united Indian federation in which Ceylon is included will be a greater asset. Ceylon would occupy exactly the same place in the Indian federation as any other autonomous province like Bombay and Madras. She would be represented in both the Upper and Lower Chambers of the Legislature on the basis of population, like Switzerland. The eventual details that would ensue as a result of such a proposed federation could be discussed and settled at the appropriate juncture. The broad conclusion remains irresistible—the inclusion of Ceylon in the Indian federation is not only from every point of view feasible, but also highly desirable.

On the other hand, the examination of the prospects for these two countries if they persist in keeping apart is very disquieting. It is to be imagined that the present agitation of the Ceylon

National Congress for full responsible government would be an accomplished fact in the near future. How, then, will this small island provide itself with its defence and counteract the temptation she holds out to many an ambitious nation both in the East and in Europe? Granting that Ceylon will have the determination to 'defend herself with what resources she possesses, would her five million population be sufficient mar power? On the other hand, an analysis of the disadvantages that lie in India's way were Ceylon to remain under foreign control is equally threatening. By its position Ceylon affords excellent facilities as a military base (naval and aerial) in the Indian Ocean. It will attain a status like that of Malta and will ever continue to be a strategic element in Eastern military policy. •

Therefore the only obvious course open for Ceylon for its greater prosperity and national security and for India for its permanent peace is to unite, setting a precedence and example to other nations. The situation involves a certain amount of uneasiness for both sides, but the presence of mutual danger is certain to lend a touch of genius in the solution of the problems of their federation which cannot but be of a permanent advantage to both countries.

It is impossible to realise why in all the twenty centuries and more of Ceylon's history this

scheme had not been conceived. If there are two countries in the world separated by a strip of water but united in every other way by ties of blood, by bonds of culture, by the demon of national danger, and by vicissitudes of history, these two countries are India and Ceylon. But outstanding above all these considerations there is repeated in the course of centuries the emphasis of the common destiny of the two countries. And now in the years ahead, with nations all over the world attaining the acme of efficiency, not by remaining as small integral entities by themselves, but by attempting to make treaties that benefit the interest of two or more countries, Ceylon *must* federate with India as its first step to its entry into the Federation of Mankind and the Parliament of Nations.

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